
REPLY
OF
L. N. M. CARNOT,
&c. &c.

PRICE THREE SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.

REPLY

OF

L. N. M. CARNOT

& Co.

PRICE THREE SHILLINGS AND SIX PENCE

Get A C C f

R E P L Y

OF

L. N. M. CARNOT, *h*

CITIZEN OF FRANCE,

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC,
AND CONSTITUTIONAL MEMBER OF
THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY;

TO THE

REPORT *made on the* CONSPIRACY *of the* 18th *Fructidor.*
5th Year, by J. CH. BAILLEUL, *in the*
Name of the Select Committee.



LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, OPPOSITE OLD BOND-
STREET, PICCADILLY.

1799.

11

REPLY

OF

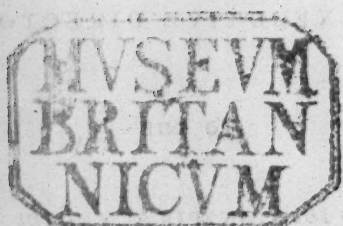
L. N. M. CARNOT.

CUTTER ON PLACED

ONE OF THE TOWERS OF THE EIFFEL

AND CONSTITUTIONAL MEMBER OF

THE



BRITISH

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

THE

INTRODUCTION.

IT is not easy to discover the motive which could have led to the publication of the following work ; a work which, when we consider the situation of the Author, whether with a view to the ambitious prospects which he may be supposed still to entertain, or to that regard for character which is never wholly abandoned by the most profligate of mankind, must appear equally prejudicial to his interests and to his reputation.

Under the form of a Reply to the Calumnies (for such they appear to be) alledged against him by the Directorial Reporter, Bailleul, the Author has contrived to give a general view of his political Character and Opinions, and an Apology (or, more properly speaking, a Justification, for such the Author seems to consider it) of his Principles and Conduct during the Revolution. And this Apology, including an arrogant assumption of merit, from the murder of his sovereign, and confining his whole exculpation of the innumerable murders committed in his own name and under his own authority to a flight assertion of a disapprobation expressed in the presence of Robespierre and his other colleagues—This apology, devoting its Author to infamy (in the opinion of all those, by whom his conduct may be estimated according to the ancient and immutable principles of morality), is at the same time so contrived, that, of the three parties existing in France, the Royalists, the Jacobins, and the Directory, it is calculated

to irritate and exasperate every one; — the Directors, as they are personally, and virulently, and (what is still more unpardonable) justly denounced to the world as the enemies of peace and the oppressors of mankind; — the Royalists, of course; — and the Jacobins, as their former conspiracies are cited, and a merit assumed from having assisted in their suppression.

The publication of such a work, however, though a little extraordinary, is not wholly unaccountable. That Sully and Clarendon, men whose lives were devoted not to any selfish or sensual purposes, but to the benefit and improvement of mankind; that such men should have thought a portion of their leisure usefully occupied, in accounting to mankind for the employment of their time and the application of their talents — this is not extraordinary. They felt no embarrassment, no anxiety for the arrangement of a specious narrative, no necessity for concealment of the truth or for

an artful insinuation of falsehood ; to recollect and record the transactions of a meritorious and honourable life was in itself no unpleasing duty ; and they were conscious that the purposes for which alone they existed would extend themselves, and be perpetuated with the influence of their example.

But there are other writers of a very different character, men whose lives have been pernicious or useless to society ; who have, nevertheless, conceived it important that posterity should be acquainted with their principles, such as they were, and with the course of their transactions and intrigues. This rage for perpetuating the portraiture of mental deformity has been at all times remarkably prevalent in France ; and the immense collection of French memoirs presents us with a series of these self-accusers unexampled in the literature of any other country.

The passions, by which these writers must have been actuated, like all others, seem to

have gained new force and activity from the events of the Revolution. The restlessness attendant upon involuntary retirement, that impatience of silence and obscurity which embitters the exile or secession of a banished or abdicating statesman, the *besoin de faire parler de soi*, have been felt in their full force by all the successive victims whom ambition has raised to notice for an instant and then replunged in their original obscurity. It is to these passions that we are indebted for almost all we know of the Revolution; for the Memoirs of GARAT, and ROLAND, and DUMOURIER; the Narratives of LOUVET, and RIOUFFE; and the Apologies of NECKAR, and of FOUQUIER TINVILLE.

This last (a worthy magistrate, and president of the Revolutionary Tribunal under the direction of that committee of which CARNOT was a member) confines his justification to the following metaphorical assertion, "*that his tender heart had expanded*

like a flower at the first dawning of the Revolution;" and he very fairly confesses, that since that time he had been misled by his zeal; and that, in point of *murder*, he is apprehensive he may have carried things a little farther than was necessary, or indeed perhaps altogether justifiable.

The Apology offered by his principal, the Ex-director, is not quite so modest; he takes upon him to reproach the world in general, for their ignorance as to what used to pass in the Committees of Public Safety — "*It is not sufficiently known* (says he) *that I used to reproach ROBESPIERRE for his unnecessary cruelties.*" It certainly is not known; nor will it be credited, upon such assertion; nor, even if it were true, would it be a sufficient apology, or any thing like it. The Author would certainly have done better, not to have deviated into these extraneous exculpations; unless, indeed, he could have proved that, by some inexplicable chain of obligation, it had been

originally his duty to become a member of the Committee of Public Safety; and that, once appointed to that sacred trust, he was bound to continue his services, and to retain life at the expence of guilt and infamy. He certainly would have done better to have confined himself to the single thesis which forms the professed subject of his work, namely, to prove that BAILLEUL's accusation of Royalism, and LEPAUX's imputations of Christianity, are unfounded; and that the Author is, in fact, as sound an Atheist and as good a Regicide as heart could wish or Republicanism require. Upon this point he is completely triumphant, and must be admitted, we think, in the opinion of every impartial person, to have left his adversaries without the possibility of a reply.

The next point in discussion is not calculated to inspire much interest; it consists of the simple fact of the Author's having been betrayed and outwitted by his accomplices.

Your rivals having made their puff,
And kick'd you out without remorse,
Whether it signifies a rush,
Is the next part of this discourse:

You think yourselves abused and put-on,
'Tis natural to make a fuss;
To see it and not care a button,
Is just as natural for us;

Like people viewing at a distance
Two persons thrown out of a casement,
All we can do for your assistance,
Is to afford you our amazement.

To Citizen Carnot therefore, in return
for the striking and amusing spectacle,
which he has displayed on the theatre of the
Republic, from the time of his original
debut in the character of the Committee-
man, to the period of his final disappearance
through the trap-door, like Schillers Fiesco,
in the last act of the Conspiracy, entangled
in the skirts of his Directorial Toga, and
dragged over-board and drowned by his

Republican brethren— in gratitude for the whole of this interesting and surprizing exhibition, we shall offer the humble tribute of our artless and unfeigned astonishment, unmixed with any of those emotions of sympathy, which belong to the province of a different species of the political drama; that drama which, in the downfall of empires and the overthrow of ancient and established governments, displays those characters which Heaven itself surveys with approbation:

A great man struggling with the storms of fate,
And greatly falling with a falling state.

We trust that the nations of Europe, though weakened and subdued, are not yet so debased in spirit and character, that they are prepared to take an interest, and to side as factious partizans with the contending leaders of the Great Nation; that, like the tributary sovereigns of Numidia, or Bithynia, or Egypt, under the old overbearing

Republic of Rome, they will be proud to rank themselves as Cæsarians or Pompeians, to combat for a choice of oppressors, and discuss and controvert the pretensions of their rival plunderers. We proceed therefore to the only point of view in which the quarrels and altercations of the accomplices in blood and robbery can excite an interest in the minds of honest men—namely, the examination of such facts as may be brought to light in the course of their mutual recriminations; but for these the reader must be referred to the work itself; he will there see that the sacrifice of the Cape and our other conquests in the East, which was attempted to be exacted as a preliminary to negotiation, would have restored them, not to their old masters, and our former allies, the Dutch, but, to our own inveterate rivals, and irreconcilable enemies; after which, or more probably on the first attempt to remonstrate against so scandalous a breach of faith, we should (under every disadvantage) have been driven

again to a renewal of hostilities, of which, in fact, this armistice obtained by an artifice at once so insolent and so fraudulent would only have been a necessary, and not the least efficient part.

With respect to the authenticity of the work, we have no means of forming a judgement but what are equally open to our readers, namely, an attentive examination of the evidence contained in the work itself: considering the circumstances under which it is written, it is hardly to be expected that the Author should come forward to claim and avow his own production; upon the test, therefore, of internal evidence (in our opinion a perfectly satisfactory one), we must be content to form our judgement, unless (which is not improbable) the Directory, who must be the best judges, should think fit to silence all objection, and sanction the authenticity of the work, by employing their usual advocates for its refutation.—In the mean time, their agents in

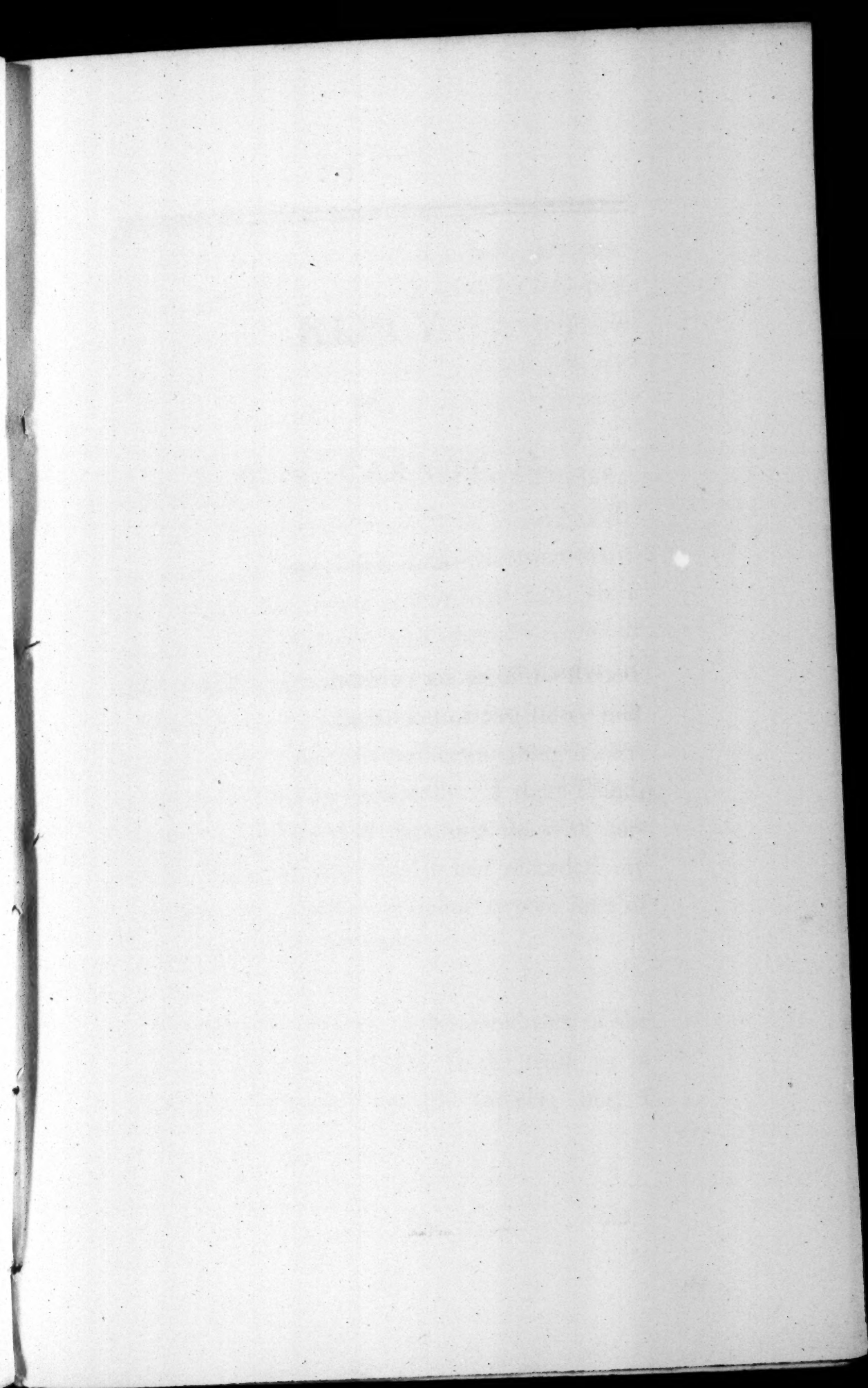
this country, apprehensive that its contents might be offensive to their patrons and employers, have thought it right, as a measure of precaution, to insert a paragraph in the paper which serves as the usual vehicle of their misrepresentations:—the paragraph too is in their usual and favourite style (a style perfectly familiar to those who have at all attended to the system of falsehood and misrepresentation of which they are the indefatigable propagators), insinuating a falsehood under the flippant affectation of a sort of negligent scepticism—We are told that.—“ It is a curious publication “ if genuine.—It appears to be published “ by the French emigrants, and, true or “ false, it is a captivating title.”—We ourselves profess to be wholly uninformed with respect to the circumstances of the publication; but we are strongly inclined to believe, that if the Author of this paragraph had any information of his own upon the subject (which however we by no means give him credit for), it would be found to

be in direct contradiction to his own insinuation :—we should be farther inclined to suspect, that the writer had not even seen the work, the authenticity of which he is so forward to call in question; certainly no one who had read it attentively would have attempted to overthrow the credit of its authenticity by so foolish and inapplicable a calumny, as that of its being forged by the emigrants;—whereas, from the beginning of the book to the end, there is not a single passage to be found, directly or indirectly, favourable to the particular cause of the emigrants, or to their character; nor is the word “ Emigrant ” (we believe), except in a single passage where Barras is accused of protecting them, to be found in the whole book.

But it is impossible to attempt to meet every objection with its particular refutation;—the internal evidence, to those who are capable of estimating it, will be a stronger and more convincing test of au-

thenticity than ten thousand external proofs; and for those who may be disposed to controvert it, in opposition to their own conviction, the example of the *Letters from Egypt*, the authenticity of which, after being so long, so strenuously, and so impudently, denied in this country, is now finally established by the confession of the French themselves; will, we hope, teach them a little caution, and that they will wait, at least, for the determination of their friends at Paris, before they engage in a dispute, in which those very friends may find it necessary to contradict them.

London,
March 22, 1799. }



REPLY

OF

L. N. M. CARNOT, &c.

AT length I have received a copy of the Report of Bailleul on the Conspiracy of Fructidor, and have eagerly examined whether any thing it contained concerned me personally. I there found, that the committee had honoured me with particular attention, and that it had recorded my supposed delinquencies in about twelve lines of text, and forty-five of notes.

I know not whether, in the remainder of the report, it adheres as strictly to the truth as in that part of which I am the subject; but, I

B

set out by declaring, and shall presently demonstrate, that this part of the report is one continued tissue of abominable impostures; that there is not a single word in it, which does not bear the stamp of premeditated falsehood, and of the most flagrant perfidy.

When a committee is appointed by the legislative body to prepare an authentic report relative to an event which that committee itself has contributed to produce; when, after six months of research, it announces that at length it has collected all the facts; and when, after the enumeration of all it considers as merely probable, it declares (page 26, note) that *all the remainder of the report is confirmed by official documents deposited in the hands of the ministers*; when this, I say, is the case, and yet the subsequent part of the report contains a series of facts which are not supported by any official document whatever; when, on the contrary, there exist innumerable official papers which give the lie to them all, which radically overturn and destroy them; then, I say, that not only this reporter is infamous himself,

but all those who have participated in this work of iniquity.

Bailleul, dressed like a *Chouan*, and exercising the trade of a *Chouan* in the time of the National Convention, is suddenly become a high-flown patriot: that is, according to the new acceptation of the word, a man servilely devoted to the Executive Directory; desirous that the legislative body should be reduced to a mere *chancellerie*, the blind instrument to register the supreme orders of this absolute master; to expel those whom it is commanded to expel by the Directory; to proscribe those whom it is commanded to proscribe; applauding its violences, and sacrificing to its caprice and avidity, the labours, the liberty, the honour, and the life of every citizen.

What has induced Bailleul to rush into this new career?—doubtless, the promise of an embassy, or of some other important post. But Bailleul and his co-adjutors will learn, that the Directory promise much, while they perform

little. He, as well as his associates, will find, that servility and meanness, in the end, always receive their just reward—the contempt of those whom they serve.

Such are the republicans of the present day! the patriots *par excellence*! while the man, who chooses rather to ruin himself than exceed the bounds of the Constitution, is stigmatized as a royalist; the man, who voted for the death of the King, who has made war on Kings, who has contributed to the humiliation of all Kings, this man is a royalist! This, forsooth, is evident; *we do not attempt* (says Bailleul, p. 2) *to prove the existence of light.*

This great principle once established, the train of argument to be adopted by the reporter becomes perfectly easy. He has no occasion to *attempt to prove*; it is enough for him to state facts; and as St. Just, when accusing his colleagues in the tribune of the National Convention, said, “*the documents are in the hands of the committee:*” so Bailleul, accusing his col-

leagues in the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, says, *the documents are in the hands of the ministers,*

'Your committee (adds he, p. 2) would have but imperfectly conceived your wishes, had they directed their attention to adduce proofs or furnish justifications.'

Excellent, Citizen Bailleul! it is easy to perceive the true meaning of this declaration. I grant that it would be *'but imperfectly to conceive the wishes'* of those, who know that no proofs exist but the proofs of their own crimes, to submit such proofs to their inspection—to the inspection of the people—to the inspection of all Europe. Those who, like you, are perfectly acquainted, by their own feelings, who were the real Fructidorian conspirators; those who tremble, even at this day, lest they should be forced too clearly to contemplate that immortal victory, that victory in which the Constitution expired under their poignards, in which the rights of man were torn in pieces by their sacrilegious hands;

those men, I say, will thank you for this *trait* of genius, worthy of Fouquier-Tinville.

But all mankind have not, like you, or like them, the art of setting themselves above the reproaches of conscience ; and, therefore, those of the representatives who, on that glorious day, paralyzed with terror, proscribed their colleagues in a mass ; or, through weakness or impotence, suffered them to be proscribed, yet shuddering at their own art, and hoping that they might one day be relieved from the burden with which they were overwhelmed ; those men, Citizen Bailleul, would not have thought that you had *imperfectly conceived their wishes*, or that you had undertaken an unnecessary labour, in proving to them that what they were then doing, if it was not constitutional, was at least radically just.

Yes ; I, who am far removed from the cabinet of ministers ; I, who am living in retirement in an obscure village in the heart of Germany ; I will prove to Bailleul, that the documents which he says are deposited in the hands of the

ministers, and which he declares he has seen and read, have in fact no existence. I will prove to Bailleul, that there does exist a multitude of documents, which establish facts diametrically opposite to those to which he has pledged himself. I will prove to Bailleul, that he is the vilest and basest of impostors:

I shall examine, sentence by sentence, what he has said concerning me; to each of them I shall reply successively. I begin with the text, which is literally as follows. (p. 35.)

'Carnot denies that assassinations were committed.'

Is it in writing, Citizen Bailleul, or verbally, that I have *denied* this fact? If it be in writing, the *official documents* must be in the hands of the ministers, as you have before declared: produce these documents;—explain to us what kind of documents could prove such a *denial*, or by what sort of declaration any one can assert, that throughout France, or only, for instance, in the South, no crime has been committed.

But to have done with this trifling absurdity ; I will presently demonstrate that the official documents, which actually exist, state the direct contrary to be the fact.

In the first place then, YOU LIE when you assert that all the facts are proved by official documents. It is only verbally then that I have denied this fact ? And from whom could you learn this, Citizen Bailleul ? From the Directory, no doubt, whose assertions are equally deserving of confidence with the *official documents deposited in the hands of the ministers*. But, Citizen Bailleul,—the Directory give evidence here in their own cause ; either the Directory, therefore, must acknowledge that it has been guilty of a horrid outrage, or it must maintain that those whom it proscribed were really criminal. The Directory is all-powerful—whereas the other parties are either fugitives or in prison. Do you believe they will proclaim the innocence of these men, and declare themselves deserving of the most severe punishment ?

The number of assassinations was doubtless much exaggerated by the news-papers, and the causes of these assassinations were not always those attributed to them. But so far from having ever denied their existence, no one has been so urgent as myself for the prosecution of the assassins; no one has so bitterly complained of the glaring partiality of the tribunals; no one has with so much warmth and earnestness recommended to the members of the legislative body to place adequate means in the hands of the Directory to put a stop to this deluge of crimes.

The *official proofs* of all this, Citizen Bailleul, are to be found in the letters which I wrote in the name of the Directory to the generals commanding in the interior, and which are deposited with the Directory itself; they are to be found in the testimonies of all those who heard me speak on this execrable system of assassination.

I will, in my turn, state a fact, which proves, that far from denying these atrocities, I, on the contrary, exerted the utmost of my power to

have the authors of them punished; a circumstance which would appear singular, did we not know the unparalleled villany of the tyrants, of whom you, Bailleul, are the worthy tool: — But the fact is proved by *official documents deposited in the hands of the ministers!*

Acts of violence took place at Dijon and at Arras: in the first of which a murder had even been committed; nor could it be doubted that these outrages were the work of the counter-revolutionists. Of these facts I had collected numerous proofs which I imparted to the Directory, and also placed them in the hands of the Minister of General Police, with a request that he would prosecute the perpetrators. Yet, incredible as it may appear, I could never obtain a report on this subject. Incredible as it may appear, I spoke in the warmest manner to the Directory no less than fifteen times, who never deigned to attend to the business! The papers which I communicated will attest the fact; the deputies from the department of the *Côte d'Or* in particular can prove with what ardour I pro-

fecuted the affair of their own department : yet all my labour was in vain ! — And why ? — Because the Directory were well pleased that assassinations should be committed : — because, (according to their doctrine) the true remedy being the excess of the evil, they were desirous that the evil should be carried to excess.

But these were, in fact, mere prettexts for accusations against the members of the legislature, and those of the Directory whom they were resolved to ruin. Above all, they seized with the utmost avidity every opportunity of directing against me that indignation which the impunity of crimes necessarily produced in the departments where I was particularly interested. I was born in the department of the *Côte d'Or*, and was married in that of the *Pas de Calais* ; this is the reason I have never been able to obtain justice for either the one or the other of these departments.

' He opposes the dismissal of Willot.'

Either Willot was culpable, Citizen Bailleul, or he was not. If Willot was innocent, it was my duty to oppose his dismissal: if he was guilty, it is not I that should be accused; but those very triumvirs who wish to charge me with the crime they have themselves committed. Did they not form the majority of the Directory? Could they not dismiss Willot in spite of my individual opinion? It follows then, either that the triumvirate thought like me, that Willot was not criminal, or that they were themselves the accomplices of Willot. Choose, Citizen Bailleul, which alternative you please. How is it, that after taking six months to forge lies, you at last allow such bungling falsehoods to escape you?

Can any thing more absurd be conceived, than three men saying, We formed a majority in the Directory, and we could take whatever measures we thought proper to stop the progress of disorders; yet we allowed assassinations without number to be committed, because one of

our colleagues did not believe that assassinations really existed, although we were perfectly certain that they were perpetrated every day :—we suffered the principal cut-throat to continue in place, because this same colleague of ours did not believe him to be an assassin, although we had a thousand proofs of his criminality ?

Our colleague may have been deceived ; he is in an error ; consequently he is a royalist, and ought to be exiled. As for us, no one has imposed upon us ; it is knowingly, and with our eyes open, that we have permitted thousands of assassinations to be committed ; thus we are only guilty of cowardice and cruelty ; consequently we are the true patriots, and ought to continue in the Directory in order to bring about *Fructidorian revolutions*.

Willot was sent to Marseilles as a man of character, and qualified to keep all parties within bounds. He had combated with success the rebels of La Vendée. It will be found, even in his letters, that he thinks Hoche is not

sufficiently suspicious of them. He fears their submission may be only a feint; that they are abusing the indulgence of government; and that they will take advantage of the first favourable opportunity to renew their plots and conspiracies.

In a short time, however, we received contradictory reports from Marseilles relative to the conduct of Willot; those who propagated them, call themselves true patriots, and treat all their adversaries as robbers and assassins; some as the agents of anarchy, others as the advocates of royalism.

Barras proposed the dismissal of Willot. But what friends, what correspondents could Barras have at Marseilles? Probably those who, during his mission with Fréron, suggested to him so many dilapidations, so many massacres, so many scenes of horror; the authorities recently constituted by this same Fréron in his second mission; by this disciple, this co-adjutor, of Marat, who boasts of having composed the most virulent articles of his bloody pages; and

who even, after the ninth of Thermidor, continued to invoke him as his tutelary divinity.

I opposed the removal of Willot until further examinations were made. The other members of the Directory did the same. This is evident; since, if they had thought with Barras, they would have been a majority, and Willot would have been dismissed. These are the wretches who accuse me now of having opposed Willot's dismissal!

In the departments of the South was a man named Cadet, who was in the confidence of the Directory. It was agreed to refer the business to him; he was ordered immediately to repair to Marseilles, and transmit an exact and positive account of the conduct of Willot. Cadet wrote that Willot conducted himself very well, that he displayed much energy and impartiality, and that his conduct was absolutely irreproachable. Willot was unanimously continued at Marseilles, and Barras himself dared not to vote against him.

In the mean while complaints were made against Moynat-d'Auxon, who commanded at Toulon. The Directory ordered Cadet to proceed to Toulon, and send them an account of the conduct of Moynat. Cadet returned for answer, that Moynat was unfit for the command, and that he leaned to aristocracy. I immediately proposed the removal of Moynat, and taking a pen, drew up the decree myself. The Secretary-General can and ought to attest this fact.

The deliberations of the Directory were recorded in the journals, and the letters of Cadet are among the *official papers* deposited in the offices. Are you satisfied now, Citizen Bailleul?

But there exist other official documents with respect to Willot. I mean the letters I wrote to him in the name of the Executive Directory; and that which I addressed to him in my own private capacity, after his taking his seat in the legislative body. All these letters formally prove the reverse of what you advance. The last of

them contains bitter reproaches on the step he took in the Council of Five Hundred. The Directory got possession of this minute, by putting their seal upon my papers : and what illustrates the good faith that governs both them and you, Citizen Bailleul, who say you have collected all the documents ; is, that you not only omit to mention this minute which would confound your imposture ; but that you even dare to advance as a fact, the direct contrary of what is substantially proved by that letter. Assuredly, when every thing that was dear to me, when even my family papers fell into the hands of the tyrants, it cannot be asserted, that I only left those letters which I was willing should be read. Do there exist in any part of the Republic, or elsewhere, any letters of mine written in a different style ? I challenge all those who have any such in their possession to send them to the Executive Directory.

Not only my letter to Willot must have been found among my papers, but all my private correspondence with Bonaparte ; all my official

correspondence with the Generals during the campaign of 1793 and 1794; all my private letters to different representatives of the people from the opening of the last session. It can be easily seen, whether I have varied in my principles; whether the language I held under the revolutionary government contradicts that which I held under the constitutional government; whether it is not uniformly that of the most ardent civism, combined with the deepest sense of humanity, and the purest morality. These papers contain the best answers that can be given both to those who wished to implicate me in the conspiracy of Robespierre, and to those who have included me in the Fructidorian proscription. I shall, one day, perhaps, be accused of having even participated in the new tyranny itself!

When Willot was elected into the legislative body, it was thought the best measure to pursue, was to order Bonaparte to replace him, by sending to Marseilles any of the Generals in the Army of Italy, he thought best qualified to execute that delicate and important commission.

Bonaparte sent Sahuguet, and presently the same reproaches were lavished on Sahuguet, as had been lavished on Willot: and thus, Citizen Bailleul, you have an accusation prepared for Bonaparte whenever occasion shall require.

‘ Though once an implacable enemy to Pichegru, yet now he has taken his seat in the legislative body, he has daily interviews with him privately and confidentially.’

I have never been either the friend or the enemy of Pichegru. I have never been either the personal friend or the personal enemy of any of the Commanders in Chief in the service of the Republic. I have esteemed and cultivated the friendship of those who were able and skilful officers, and I have contributed as much as I could to employ them, while I endeavoured to remove such as were unfortunate, without giving them any personal pain or offence.

My confidence in Pichegru began to diminish, when his conduct gave birth to doubts in my

mind, relative to the firmness of his principles. Reubel also stated some facts to the Directory, which increased my suspicions. As Pichegru, therefore, had thrice offered to retire, I proposed at last to accept of his resignation. Pichegru was no longer employed, but came to Paris, where he complained bitterly, and said, that he had not expressly offered his resignation, but had only demanded leave of absence. Great pains were now taken to irritate him against me. He was really my enemy, but I was not his. The same newspapers that now describe me as his accomplice, then imputed his retreat to me as a crime. It was even pretended that he was starving, and that he was obliged to maintain himself by keeping the Diligences at Vesoul. On my suggestion, however, the Directory continued his pay as General of Division.

When Pichegru appeared in the legislative body, I was desirous of being beforehand with him, and paid him a visit. I did the same with Jourdan. I was accompanied by two general officers, and we conversed several hours

on the situation of political affairs, and the necessity of re-establishing harmony between the chief constituted authorities. Pichegru spoke with more shrewdness than I had imagined him to possess, for I scarcely knew him, except through the medium of his military talents; and they do not always infer that cultivation of mind which is the offspring of a liberal education; and, in the few opportunities I had of seeing him, he had always appeared very reserved and silent. When we left him, one of the general officers said to me, "I am not pleased with Pichegru; I do not think him sincere:" I suspect (said I), it is because, he is no longer Commander in Chief of the Army of the Rhine.

I was desirous, however, of drying up the source of every animosity, and of preventing the revival of those factions that had so long torn the bosom of the Republic; I therefore invited to dinner the general officers, who were deputed to the legislative body, particularly Pichegru and Jourdan, whom I wished to reconcile.—

Jourdan came, but Pichegru staid away, although he had promised. — Since that time, I invited him again, for I was desirous of knowing the real state of his mind ; but, as he constantly made excuses, I at length desisted from repeating my invitations.

He waited on me, however, one evening, together with eight or ten others of the representatives of the people ; but they only came by accident, and did not stay above two or three minutes in my garden, where I received them. Pichegru did not once speak to me, nor did I address myself to him.

These were the only occasions on which I have seen Pichegru since his admission into the legislative body ; this is what Bailleul calls having daily interviews with him privately and confidentially ; but if they were so, how did Bailleul become acquainted with our meetings ? How could he be sure of them ? Is this also proved by *official papers in the hands of the ministers* ? Let him name the

places where I met Pichegru, the houses where we were together, and the persons who have seen us. Have the numerous sentinels of the Luxembourg ever seen him? Have the porters, the servants, the spies of the little Réveillère, who lived in the same stair-case with myself, ever seen him?

And as I have not received him at my own apartments, neither have I seen him elsewhere; for, during the whole duration of my dictatorial functions, I did not go out a dozen times, except with some part of my family—unless, indeed, my wife, my sister, my children, my domestics, are all supposed to be the accomplices of my secret, confidential interviews with Pichegru!

The assertion I am now disproving is the most important of them all. Even supposing Pichegru was guilty, I might have been deceived in him, and seen him without suspicion. But who would have exculpated me from the prejudice which would result from it? What an abyss of calumny is in

the accusation! WHAT MONSTERS ARE THESE TRIUMVIRS! What a degraded being is this J. Ch. Bailleul!!

A few days previous to the catastrophe of the 18th Fructidor, the female citizen Eblé, sister of the celebrated General of artillery, came to my apartments. "Is it then certain, Citizen Carnot (said she) that Pichegru will desert the patriots?" I know nothing of it, I replied, but his conduct is by no means calculated to inspire confidence.— "I am determined (replied she) to go and see him. I am determined to read his heart in his countenance, and know the real state of his mind." I approved her determination, and she returned two or three days after, saying, "No, Pichegru does not desert us. He asks what he shall do to prove that he does not abandon the cause of the patriots." Pichegru, replied I, must ascend the tribune of the Council of Five Hundred, and there declare himself in a manner that will leave no doubt what his real sentiments are, and strike terror into the conspirators of the counter-revolution. His actions must

correspond with his words, and in lieu of feeding criminal hopes, by an ambiguity of conduct, he must at length rally all the defenders of liberty around the national standard. This, said I, is the only part that is becoming the character of Pichegru, and in doing this there is no time to lose.

The female citizen Eblé told me she would instantly communicate to him my advice. But this happened, I believe, on the 16th Fructidor, and I never saw her afterwards. She may be consulted relative to the fact, and I have no fear of her refusing to bear an authentic testimony to the truth.

Let us hope the legislative body of the great nation will one day be sufficiently *free*, to dare modestly to demand of our demi-gods what proofs they can adduce, that the victim, who escaped their murderous knife, in the night between the 17th and 18th Fructidor, had daily interviews with Pichegru.

I am far from wishing to decide whether Pichegru was or was not guilty; guilty he certainly was, if a hundredth part of what is said of him in the committee's Report is true. But when I demonstrate that, with regard to all the facts that are thoroughly known to me, this report has violently distorted the truth with the utmost degree of impudence and perfidy, it is surely allowable to suppose they have not treated it with more respect in what relates to others.—When we behold them carrying their injustice so far as to depreciate the services of Pichegru, as commander in chief of the Army of the North, and reduce them to nothing, merely lest the world should place these services in the scale against the crimes with which they accuse him.

If Pichegru is innocent, the same inscription may be put upon his tomb as on that of Scipio, which still exists in the vicinity of Naples:

“Ingrata patria! neque ossa mea habebis.”

‘A declared advocate of kings, he exclaimed, when the republican directors made such propo-

sals for peace as were honourable to France,
 YOU ARE DESIROUS, THEN, TO OPPRESS THE
 EMPEROR.'

Was I the advocate of kings when I voted
 for the death of the King of France, and made
 every other king tremble upon his throne? And
 you, Bailleul, how did you signalize yourself in
 this celebrated struggle, while the result was
 doubtful? Ask these kings which they love
 best, an advocate like me, or a valet like your-
 self?

'*Republican directors!*' I know of none such
 among the triumvirs; I know only of assassins
 of the Republic and of the Constitution.

'*Honourable proposals!*' where are they?
 Can any thing honourable be proposed by men
 destitute of every principle of honour and of
 justice? Does not truth itself become falsehood
 when it passes through their corrupted organs?
 Would not honour itself, could it approach them,

be tarnished by their infected breath? would it not expire on their gangrened lips?

If it was I who prevented the adoption of their *honourable proposals*, they ought to have renewed them when I ceased to be a member of the Directory; they ought to have explained their new conditions in the Treaty of Campo Formio. But where are these conditions? In what respect is the Emperor more oppressed by this Treaty than by that of Leoben? The Treaty of Campo Formio is not even so favourable as that of Leoben, as I shall presently demonstrate.

It was in their power to have concluded the peace five months earlier, on the conditions that have been adopted; and it was because I was desirous it should be concluded immediately, it was because I was unwilling that hostilities should be renewed, or that they should place the Republic in new dilemmas and difficulties (as I myself wrote to Bonaparte), that they said I was fearful of their oppressing the Emperor.

Will they talk of the surrender of Mentz? But it was I who proposed not to evacuate Palma-nova till the Emperor had retired from Mentz, and from the whole right bank of the Rhine. It was I who wrote various letters to Bonaparte on this subject. Our *republican directors* paid it no attention whatever.

‘ YOU ARE DESIROUS, THEN, TO OPPRESS THE EMPEROR.’

These are not my words, Bailleul; no: I said to these political Quixotes, “ You are not, then, “ desirous of peace with the Emperor. If your “ conditions are so *oppressive* to him, that it is “ impossible for him to accept them without evidently incurring his own destruction, you had “ better frankly declare that you mean to resume hostilities, and are resolved on a war “ of extermination.” At these words, Réveillière leaped upon his seat and said he knew not whether he ought not to break up the fitting. I observed to Réveillière, that I only repeated what Bonaparte had frequently written, that no peace

could be permanent, the conditions of which were intolerable to the vanquished party ; that, otherwise, a leaven of irritation would remain, which sooner or later would produce a fatal explosion. This explanation seemed to pacify the acrimonious viper, who coiled himself again on his chair.

In this place I must unveil the atrocious perfidy of these three miscreants. BONAPARTE WAS EVER ODIUS TO THEM, AND THEY NEVER LOST SIGHT OF THEIR DETERMINATION TO DESTROY HIM. From this accusation I do not even except Barras: the gnashing of his teeth when that General sent Sahuguet to Marseilles, his exclamations against the preliminaries of Leoben, his gross and calumnious farcafms on a person who must be dear to Bonaparte, prove the blackness of his inmost thoughts. This man, under an outside of pretended levity, conceals the ferocity of a Caligula.

It is not true that it was he who first proposed the appointment of Bonaparte to the command of

the Army of Italy ; it was I who proposed him. But on this point they have waited till time should show how he would succeed ; and it was only among the intimate friends of Barras that he boasted of having been the original proposer of him to the Directory. Had Bonaparte failed, it was I alone that was to bear the blame for having recommended to that command an inexperienced youth and an intriguer ; I should then have been the evident betrayer of my country. The others took no share in the conduct of the war ; it was on me that all the responsibility would have fallen. But Bonaparte was triumphant ; and, from that moment, it was Barras who caused him to be appointed, and to him alone was due all the praise. He was his protector, his defender against my attacks ; while I was jealous of Bonaparte, crossed him in all his plans, persecuted him, slandered him, refused him the necessary succours, and was evidently resolved to ruin him ! Such are the filthy excrements of falsehood with which, from time to time, the journals in the pay of Barras are filled.

Some, it is true, there were, who were desirous of ruining Bonaparte. I allude to the famous triumvirate, who were continually trembling lest they should be deprived of their authority and power. The ascendancy which that General had acquired, through his innumerable victories, began to goad and torment them. While they attempted to ruin Bonaparte, I was also to be involved in the consequences; and thus the triumvirate would get rid of two of their enemies at once. Then it was evident that I was the secret rival of the Hero of Italy, whose fall I had prepared! My sentence would have been speedily pronounced; and they would have then performed the obsequies of Bonaparte as magnificently as they did those of General Hoche.

But it will be answered, that I ought in my turn to prove my assertions. This would be perfectly easy, if, like Bailleul, I had *the official papers in the hands of the ministers* at my disposal. Nor will it by any means be impossible, though living in retirement in an obscure village of Germany.

Bonaparte, as that General well remembers, had suggested, that it would be expedient to diminish the number of our enemies, by concluding treaties of peace with some of them. He recommended that we should treat with the King of Sardinia, and still more particularly with the King of Naples. Reubel was appointed to conduct the diplomatic department, as I was that of the war. What did he do in consequence of the earnest request of Bonaparte?—Nothing. What did I say? Nothing! Yes, he raised innumerable paultry difficulties relative to the Treaty of Piedmont, and absolutely refused to treat with Naples. It was I who, fatigued with these affected delays, of which I clearly perceived the object, transacted alone (except a few observations of Charles de la Croix) the Treaty with Sardinia, which, I believe, is by no means the worst. It was I, too, who set that of Naples on foot; and, being unable to procure a serious deliberation on this subject at the Directory, called a meeting of some of its members to draw up the articles of the Treaty.

This meeting took place the same evening between Le Tourneur, Le Révellière, and myself, at the residence of the latter. Had Barras been a friend to Bonaparte, knowing as he did the wishes of that General, that we should treat immediately, he would have attended this meeting, in order to accelerate its object. But on the contrary, he absented himself, and Reubel stayed at home to meditate new expedients and evasions for the ensuing day. The Treaty, however, was drawn up in a single evening, and the next day, notwithstanding the accustomed apathy of Barras, notwithstanding his disdainful air, which shame prevented him from manifesting by a direct refusal ; notwithstanding the opposition of Reubel, notwithstanding his favourite cry of *honourable conditions*, and his positive declaration that he would not sign the Treaty, it was, as it were, wrested from them by force, and instantly concluded.

This, I am of opinion, was the greatest service it was possible for me to render my country, in the circumstances which we were

then placed. But this infringement on the diplomatic province of Reubel, which the situation of affairs rendered indispensably necessary, was an affront never to be forgiven by that deceitful and vindictive statesman.

Although the collective force of the enemies opposed to Bonaparte was thus considerably diminished, and although he had now his flanks and his rear free from annoyance, yet he had not sufficient forces to procure him any decisive advantages over the Emperor. He demanded a succour of 15,000 men; I formed a plan for sending him 30,000. The necessary orders were immediately communicated to the army of the Rhine and Moselle, and to that of the Sambre and Meuse, to detach without delay, and as secretly as possible, 15,000 men each to join the Army of Italy, filing off under various pretexts along the frontiers of Switzerland. It was a similar movement of 40,000 men, detached from the army of the Moselle towards the Meuse, under the orders of Jourdan, at the moment when they were expected to march towards the

Rhine, that decided, in the year 1793, the fate of that famous campaign.

The 30,000 men, destined for the army of Italy, were to be at first detached from the army of the Rhine and Moselle, and then one half of the number replaced from that of the Sambre and Meuse. Never were orders more punctually or more faithfully executed. Moreau, who foresaw the possibility of an arrangement of that nature, had long held a body of troops in reserve for that purpose; and although his army was in a worse condition than the other, because it could not live at the expences of the enemy, and the poverty of the finances prevented any relief being given to their necessities, yet he made some sacrifices, in order that the corps de reserve might be tolerably well equipped, and ready to depart at the first signal. The signal was given, and the troops marched and arrived on the frontiers of Montblanc, before the enemy could suspect they were destined for the Army of Italy.

O Moreau! O beloved Fabius of France! how great didst thou appear in this glorious transaction! how superior wert thou to those petty rivalships that sometimes cause the best concerted projects to miscarry! Let men accuse thee, on the one hand, of not having denounced Pichegru, and on the other for denouncing him; all I know is, that my heart whispers me, that Moreau cannot be guilty. Yes, my heart proclaims thee a true hero. Yes, posterity will be more just than thy cotemporaries, and will erect altars to thy memory.

‘Even the political existence of the Pope was dear to him.’

It is most probable, since Bailleul does not say any thing that is not *supported by official papers in the hands of the ministers*, that there must have been found, among those papers, a correspondence between Pius VI. and myself, which must have been intercepted! Why then does not Bailleul amuse the public with some

extracts from this correspondence? The Pope, no doubt, must have sent me some relics and plenary indulgences to bring me over to his interests, and these must have been seized when the seals were put upon my papers!

The little Réveillère was in fact *so much afraid of the Pope* that he continually fancied he saw him pursuing him, and holding up his fingers to give him his benediction. The Vicar of Christ was a dangerous rival to a man who was also desirous of becoming the head of a sect. One night Réveillère formed the design of becoming a Great Man. We ought never to resist inspirations from above—but how was so laudable an object to be attained? After deep consideration, Réveillère determined to become one of the Theophilanthropists. This, it is true, might be considered as a new road to the temple of Fame, although it had already been tried by several. But we should recollect, that, although Sir Isaac Newton was not the original discoverer of the principle of gravity, he is nevertheless considered

as the author of the system of attraction, because it was he who discovered its laws, and fixed its proportions.

Réveillère then, who disbelieves the existence of a God, and passes his life in tormenting mankind, enrolled himself among those who professed to be worshippers of the Supreme Being and benefactors of the human race; and dreaming that he was already the founder of a new religion, that he was another Mahomet, he immediately set about composing his Koran. This work, to produce which he tortured all his mental powers during several months (not having, like his predecessor, a pigeon to whisper in his ear), shows the exact extent of his capacity. This *chef d'œuvre* was read to the National Institute, and nothing but the high dignity of the author restrained the laughter of the audience, who pinched and tormented themselves to avoid sleeping. But, alas! they were not delighted as they ought to have been at hearing this work: it was too profound to be intelligible to the members of the Institute. He received

no compliments, and the journals even forgot to notice it. Réveillère was stung to the soul at this neglect, and from that moment became captious, peevish, and a planner of new revolutions: unable to be a Mahomet, he now resolved to be a Cid.

The Catholic religion in particular became the object of his Theophilanthropic rage; and all who laughed at the name of Theophilanthropist, all who thought of the Theophilanthropists as Cicero did of the Aruspices, were considered by Réveillère as furious Papists. I had the mortification to be no admirer of the dogmas of this new sect, though I did not absolutely ridicule them. Universal toleration is the only dogma I profess. I think the balance is nearly equal between the good arising from sincere religion, and the evil from its abuses; I abhor fanaticism, and am of opinion that the fanaticism of irreligion, which was brought into fashion by the *Marats* and the *Peres Duchêne*, is the most baneful of all. In a word, I think we ought not to put men to death to make

them believe, nor to prevent their believing, but that we ought to pity the weaknesses of others, since each of us has some of his own, and leave prejudices to wear themselves out by time, when we cannot overcome them by reason.

I am nearly of the same opinion with regard to the liberty of the press. The abuse of that liberty is, no doubt, a great evil, but an attempt to fix its limits is a still greater. I am of opinion that the licentiousness of the press produces in time its own remedy; that there is neither civil nor political liberty wherever the press is not free; that we must unavoidably either submit to an arbitrary government, or endure the editors of newspapers. Yet no one has been more the victim of their calumnies than myself.

Such is my creed on these two important points; erroneous perhaps in its theory, but surely it may be maintained without incurring criminality. I have often declared it to the

Directory, but to them it is an unintelligible language: it might with equal hope of success be proposed to the Grand Signor to throw open his seraglio to all the youth of Constantinople. Our republican Directors wish France to be under the dominion of a political inquisition, and to become a vast living tomb, resembling the prisons of Genoa, on the gates of which was inscribed, as it were in derision, the word *Libertas*.

But to return to the Pope. Réveillère, who believes that whoever is not a Theophilanthropist must necessarily be a Catholic and ought to be crucified, thought he beheld in me a staunch friend of the court of Rome. I had bestowed much praise on Bonaparte for having disdained the empty glory of marching against that city, in order to attack a more dangerous enemy, the defeat of whom must necessarily cause the fall of Rome and of all the states of Italy. The Theophilanthropist, on the contrary, was desirous that the army should march directly to the Capitol, and chant a hymn over the tomb

of the Gracchi. To him the carrying off the worm-eaten Virgin of Loretto appeared a far more important victory than the bearing away in triumph the standards of the batallion of Vienna.

I might have renounced both Jesus Christ and the Pope a hundred times a day, yet it would have been impossible to persuade Réveillère but that I was one of the most rigid of Catholics. Great men have sometimes certain moral disorders of which it is extremely difficult to cure them : Pascal fancied himself constantly plunged up to the navel in a river. Réveillère continually fancies himself in a vessel of holy water. But we ought to forgive this weakness, in consideration of the *memorable services* he has rendered to his country. He is one of our favourites, and all who behold this “lamb without blemish” should exclaim with the Italian preacher, *Ecco il vero policinello!*

‘ He was for converting all our conquests into separate kingdoms, and the creation of a kingdom

of Lombardy particularly flattered his imagination ; and Barthelemy showed, by the most significant nods, how much this system pleased him,'

My memory is so treacherous, on this occasion, that I should have been glad if Bailleul had proved this fact, by citing some passages from *the official papers in the hands of the ministers*, by which, as he has declared, all the facts advanced by him are confirmed. It seems that on this point I have not reserved my plans *in petto*, but that I have explicitly proposed them to the Directory. I must have fully explained my system, since Barthelemy expressed his approbation by *significant nods*. Could no traces of all this be found in the journals of the Directory, and the procès-verbaux of their sittings, where every thing of importance that passes is taken down ? Each member has a right, according to the Constitution, to record his opinion on the journals ; and this is very frequently done.

The Directory, who, according to the expression of Barras in his speech to Bonaparte, had

long since premeditated in its wisdom the immortal victory of the 18th Fructidor, had now a very fine opportunity of convicting me of royalism, and of preparing an act of accusation against me which I could not have rebutted, when the great day should come ; by inscribing in the procès-verbal the thundering answer each of the members must have made to me, when I had the baseness to propose the conversion of all our conquests into so many kingdoms.

What say you to this, Bailleul? Confess that it is an unpardonable omission. This is really a blunder, and the most skilful men sometimes commit them. I have, however, already observed to you, Bailleul, that you took full six months to give a semblance of truth to your lies ; but, for want of these precious documents, which would have thrown so much light on the secret springs of the conspiracy, I am obliged to have recourse to the repository of my memory for the grounds on which the triumvirates have built this impertinent falsehood ; at length,

I think, I have discovered a slender clue that leads to it. Here it is.

I recommended giving to the Duke of Parma some portions of the Papal territories, (notwithstanding my affection for his holiness), and part of those of Modena in exchange for Louisiana and Florida, which the King of Spain was to have ceded to us for the sake of procuring a more considerable establishment for the Infant. In this I perceived two advantages; 1st, The advantage, not of creating a new republic in Europe, but, on the contrary, *of republicanizing a fine extensive tract of country in America, which would have given us so great an influence over the United States*, and of which the blunderers, or the traitors, who negotiated the Treaty with Spain did not procure the cession, although it was perfectly easy to be obtained. 2d. That of opposing a stronger barrier to the Emperor in Italy than the Cisalpine Republic alone; for the King of Spain being thereby powerfully interested in the protection of that country, would have been an

important counterpoise to the House of Austria. Add to this, it would have been a farther means of securing the continuance of peace, and of the alliance of the French Republic with Spain: for then, Spain would have felt the want of us to assist her in opposing the Emperor in Italy; and had she been inclined to declare war, she would have been exposed to be attacked by us in two places at once. This, then, was the best pledge we could receive of a permanent alliance with Spain. But the penetrating eye of the triumvirate immediately discovered, that the true object was to revive the kingdom of Lombardy; and the dread of this imaginary kingdom prevented them from aggrandizing the Republic with an immense territory now useless and even prejudicial to Spain, and from holding out their helping hand to those Frenchmen who have so long been panting for a re-union with their true mother-country—much to the honour of our *republican directors!*

As to that multitude of petty kingdoms, with which (like so many planets) I was desirous of

surrounding the fun of the Republic, although this is particularly calculated to *flatter the imagination*, I confess I have not the smallest recollection of it whatever; but, I promise Bailleul, to answer him on this point as soon as he shall produce the *official papers* which are in the hands of the ministers.

The significant nods of Barthelemy are also, no doubt, among the *official papers in the hands of the ministers*, and Bailleul will one day tell us in what shape they appear there. Poor Barthelemy would be extremely astonished were it announced to him, on the bed of straw where his infirmities repose in a country of savages, that he was sent thither for his *significant nods* when I proposed the creation of kingdoms. "Alas!" he would say, "I thought I had never heard my colleague Carnot talk of kingdoms but to destroy them. Let me, I beseech you, die in peace among these good people who are far less deserving the name of savages than yourselves. Go, depart from these huts into which corruption has never yet found its way. Is it possible

that any government should be reduced to the necessity of justifying its acts of cruelty, by recurring to such base artifices, such barefaced lies?"

I have now exhausted the article of the text relative to myself in the Report of Bailleul. I proceed to the note (pages 52 and 53). Here, no doubt, the grand secrets will all be divulged.

** It was not merely by supporting the cause of Austria, and saying it was intended to oppress her, that Carnot betrayed the system he was secretly pursuing in order to overthrow the Republic!*

** When the affairs of Holland were under discussion; when the plan of the treaty was digesting, wherein it was intended faithfully to perform the promise made to that new republic, not to separate our interests from hers; when the means were under consideration, by which that country might be rescued from the convulsions with which it was*

equally threatened by the Stadtholderians and the Anarchists; when measures were sought for by which a government might be established in that country, and its liberty secured, Carnot maintained that Holland must be sacrificed, that we ought to be indifferent to her fate, and that we ought not to make ourselves uneasy should England keep some of her settlements. 'Let them fight,' said he, 'as long as they will; to us, that will be no great disadvantage.'

Whence, Bailleul, did you get all these fine things? not from the *official papers in the hands of the ministers*: for words are not placed in the hands of the ministers, and particularly words spoken in the sittings of the Directory; you must, then, have received them from our august directors, whose veracity they fully demonstrate. It is curious to hear a Reubel talk of fidelity; it is curious to hear the triumvirate unfold their principles of morality, and accuse *him* of violating its precepts who has been ruined merely by his adherence to principle and to the laws, and because he would not employ any other arms than

principle and the laws, against men who advanced to the combat with all the weapons of *Macchiavelism* and of crimes.

But you yourself, Bailleul, you who are their faithful interpreter, do you not (in page 47) deliver their profession of faith and your own, when you say to the legislative body, '*I repeat it, Let us banish these absurd theories of pretended principles, these stupid innovations of the Constitution?*'

The whole of your own system, and that of your heroes, is comprised in these few words:—

Principle is only fit for fools;—the Constitution is only fit for fools;—honour and fidelity to our engagements are only fit for fools;—there is no such thing as right, but for him who is the strongest; — all other theories of pretended principles are absurd, and he who appeals to them is a dolt!

Have not the events of the 18th Fructidor demonstrated this? And, besides, *it is needless to prove the existence of light.* All the annals of antiquity are in favour of the system of Bailleul!

The stupid Aristides was banished from his native country; the stupid Miltiades died in prison; the stupid Socrates swallowed hemlock; the stupid Cato was reduced to the necessity of putting an end to his own existence; the stupid Cicero was assassinated by the order of the triumvirs; the stupid Phocion, when an Athenian who saw him conducted to prison cried out, "Oh! worthy old man, who could have believed it possible thou shouldst come to such an end," replied, "Have not all those who have rendered important services to their country experienced a similar fate?"

You, Bailleul, have laid down in your work some most admirable maxims; far superior to the dull precepts of philosophy!

But let us return to the subject of Holland. Never was it under discussion with the Executive Directory, to find means of *rescuing that country from the convulsions with which the Stadtholderians and the Anarchists equally threatened it*. Never did they talk of *measures to be taken to establish a government and secure their liberty*.

I defy any one to find a word on the subject in their journals, except a few letters, written by myself to the Generals, on the internal police of the country. Our *republican directors* were employing themselves on much more important affairs, on *propositions far more honourable to France!* They were busy in inquiring *HOW THEY MIGHT PLUNDER HOLLAND*, and *by what lure they could induce the Dutch themselves to assist in this generous design!*

At the discussion which was held, to determine on what footing that country should be placed in the treaty then negotiating at Lille with Lord Malmesbury, Reubel made a violent harangue against the Batavian nation. He said, they were all Stadtholderians, and had constantly betrayed us. They were a nation of merchants, whose interests were centered in England, whose wishes were in favour of the English, who were only watching for an opportunity to surrender themselves to the English, into whose hands Admiral T. Lucas had recently delivered his fleet at the Cape of Good Hope.

Every thing that Holland had to gain in prosperity and in riches, it was evident, could only be at the expence of France, and to the advantage of England. In short, there was but one line of conduct to pursue with regard to Holland—
 ‘ TO KEEP HER IN THE MOST ABSOLUTE DEPENDENCE—TO SUBJECT HER TO A PASSIVE OBEDIENCE—AND TO TREAT HER AS A CONQUERED COUNTRY!!!’

“ If this be so,” said I, “ we are very unwise to continue the war merely for the restoration of their colonies ; or, when our own are offered us, to exhaust the remains of our marine in vain efforts to serve so ungrateful a nation. I am of opinion that Holland should be asked, what sacrifices she is willing to make to obtain peace ?”

“ But do you imagine,” replied Reubel, “ that it is for Holland that I would demand the restitution of the Cape and Trincomale ? The first object is that of recovering the possession of them, for which purpose, the Dutch must furnish the ships and the money, and afterwards I will

clearly convince them that these colonies belong to us!!!

I was not a little struck with the deep policy of Reubel, and I clearly perceived that he had dived to the bottom of his subject. I was desirous, however, that he should explicitly declare what was intended to be done at Lille, that it might be understood whether there was a real wish to effect a pacification, or merely to impose on the world. It was necessary that the deliberation should be brought to a conclusion. The plenipotentiaries were urgent to receive positive instructions. At length we concluded (and Reubel himself was the speaker) by ordering the minister of foreign affairs to write, that, with respect to the Batavians, the Directory had fulfilled the duties of a faithful ally, by declaring they would not give up any of their possessions, but that it now remained for them to say *what sacrifices they could resolve on for the sake of peace; that if it was their determination not to give up any thing, they should declare what resources they would offer for the continuance of the*

war ; that if these resources, added to those of France, were inadequate to those which the English would employ against them, France would then be necessitated to make a separate peace.

Thus, Bailleul, you perceive that my conclusions were adopted. But it was done merely through respect, and because they could not act otherwise, without proving themselves resolved, at any rate, to continue the war. All that I know, is, that such was the result of the deliberation. The official document exists in the hands of the minister for foreign affairs ; and it proves that on this, as on every other point, *you imposed on the legislative body and the whole nation.*

Now that the Directory, no longer restrained by the fear of opposition, HAVE TAKEN OFF THE MASK, now that they have declared they would not lay down their arms *till England should be exterminated* ; they have nothing left to do but to gloss over their fury for massacres with all that can seduce a people who place

implicit confidence in their leaders, and excite their enthusiasm in the cause. It is evident, on the other hand, that they persuaded the Dutch that it is merely on their account, and through a strict fidelity to their engagements to them, that they make this great sacrifice of peace and of national prosperity.

Confess, then, Bailleul, that if the practice of fidelity is only calculated for the *stupid*, the term is at least convenient to men of talents. But you are not, perhaps, aware, that in holding this language you are making the Directory contract *never to treat with the English so long as they shall persist in retaining any part of their Dutch conquests*; that is, you are announcing to all France, that there remains no hope whatever of peace; that the honour of the nation requires that the Republic should no longer enjoy any commerce; that Martinique should be definitively sacrificed; the East India settlements irretrievably given up to Great Britain; and that our allies should be, in point of *fact*, completely sacrificed, provided that, in point of

right, neither they nor ourselves have given up the smallest portion of their territorial possessions. It clearly appears, that there are lawyers in the Executive Directory! And these are what are called *honourable proposals*, worthy of our *republican directors*!

‘When the republican troops were defending Kehl with so much bravery, Carnot maintained that this fort could not be preserved, and that it was a folly to defend it. And yet, had not the long defence of that post detained the enemy’s army before it, that army would have marched to the relief of the Imperial troops in Italy.’

In support of this assertion, I appeal to the *official papers*, whence it will appear with what effrontery this BAREFACED LIE is penned.—Let all the letters I have written on this subject be read, and it will be seen that I have a thousand and a thousand times laid down the necessity of defending Kehl to the last extremity. A great many lives, it is true, were sacrificed there; and had our *republican directors* seen no

object in the defence of Kehl, but that of a single post, they would have sacrificed the whole army to preserve it, without knowing what advantage would be derived from it. This advantage I afterwards explained to them. The obstinacy with which I persisted in defending Kehl arose, in fact, from my wish to detain Prince Charles on the banks of the Rhine, by working upon his self-love, and thus to prevent him from marching into Italy. Prince Charles committed that grand error; and, in lieu of abandoning Kehl (where nothing could be done during the winter, on account of the snows that prevented the French from penetrating again into Swabia), and flying to relieve Mantua, he persisted in his determination to take this fort, and was too late to relieve that city.

The whole of this system is detailed in innumerable letters which I wrote, on this subject, to the army. But my colleagues, except Le Tourneur, did not even know their contents; they signed them confidentially; and I have, from time to time, joked with them on this

subject, and reminded them of their unjustly reproaching me on the subject of signatures, when I was a member of the Committee of Public Safety. But they then stood in need of my co-operation and support; and it was not till the danger was passed and there was nothing more to be done, that these *republican and honourable directors* thought proper to send me to Guyana.

When Kehl was reduced to the last extremity, when Moreau dispatched a courier to inform us that he was losing a prodigious number of his troops, and that he was in danger of having his bridges destroyed and his retreat to Strasbourg cut off, I proposed to empower that general to surrender the fort as soon as he should judge it indispensably necessary for the preservation of the army. But Reubel, who makes a sport of sacrificing the defenders of our country, who, detesting Moreau, was desirous of involving him in misfortunes, opposed the surrender of Kehl, and I had great difficulty in procuring permission to stop the effusion of human blood;

nor did I at length succeed but by rendering this Reubel, and his worthy rivals in cruelty, responsible for all that should be uselessly shed. The danger was so imminent that Moreau could not wait for this last answer, his bridges being broken and upon the point of giving way under his troops.

‘ When the last passage over the Rhine was under discussion, Carnot continually retarded it, notwithstanding it was incessantly urged to him how useful this diversion would be to the army of Italy ; he always maintained that this movement was impracticable, and that all was not ready, although the whole army can attest the contrary ; he would not even admit of a feint of that nature, which would have drawn the imperial troops to that side, and would have relieved and encouraged the army of Italy, which was in a situation of distress. He even wrote to the army of Italy, that the army of the Rhine could not pass that river within two months at soonest. It was at this time that the Treaty of Leoben was concluded, wherein some sacrifices were consented

to, which would not have been necessary had the enemy been attacked on both sides at once. No sooner did the signature of that treaty transpire, than Carnot came forward instantly, with every arrangement ready for the passage of the Rhine, for which orders were given the very same day.'

There are no facts here stated but what are proved to be absurd by the *official papers*; and the major part are absolutely impossible.

The Treaty of Leoben was signed on the 18th of April, at a distance of nearly 300 leagues from Paris, where the news could not arrive till six days after at the soonest, that is, till the 24th.

But the passage of the Rhine took place on the 20th of April, and therefore was effected four days before the treaty of Leoben was known at Paris; it could by no means, therefore, be resolved on in consequence of that intelligence arriving at Paris. LIARS, Bailleul, ought to be more accurate in calculating dates.

The passage of the Rhine took place two days after the signature of the Treaty of Leoben, consequently it was impossible it should be known either at Paris or at Strasburg. It follows, therefore, that the passage of the Rhine was neither ordered nor executed in consequence of the intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben being signed.

Do you not perceive, Bailleul, that your assertion resembles that of a certain honourable witness, who swore that he had seen a murder perpetrated by moon-light, on a night when there was no moon? This honourable witness, it is said, was, like you, honourable Bailleul, from Normandy! The Directory know how to chuse their agents: All that you have said is, nevertheless, proved by *official papers in the custody of the ministers*.

Not only the passage of the Rhine did not take place in consequence of an order given subsequently to the knowledge of the Treaty of Leoben, but all hostilities had already ceased upon the Rhine when the news of the Treaty of

Leoben arrived at Paris. A courier extraordinary, sent through Germany to the Generals of the army of the Rhine, produced this cessation of hostilities.

In consequence of what orders then did Moreau pass the Rhine on the 20th of April? He must necessarily have acted either in conformity to orders given long before, which could not till then be obeyed, and therefore YOU LIE when you say that no former orders existed, or it was in consequence of recent orders. But as the Rhine was in fact passed on the 20th of April, the orders must at the latest have left Paris on the 17th, and therefore the most recent orders that could have been given for the passage of the Rhine, must have been at least seven days anterior to the earliest intelligence that could arrive at Paris of the Treaty of Leoben. This all Europe knows, honest Bailleul, yet even this does not prevent you from declaring, in the face of all Europe, and that from *official papers in the hands of the ministers*, that the passage of the Rhine was ordered merely in consequence

of the intelligence of the signature of the Treaty of Leoben.

Let us now examine the *honourable* consequences of your officious lies, with regard to our *republican directors*.

The intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben having arrived at Paris, at the soonest, on the 24th of April, as I have proved, and the orders to pass the Rhine having been given, as you assert, on the same day, there were on the 24th orders ready signed by the Executive Directory for passing the Rhine; but the Rhine being passed on the 20th, the news of that movement arrived at Paris on the 22d; that is to say, I proposed to the Directory to order the army to pass the Rhine two days after all Paris knew the Rhine had been actually passed, and the Directory signed this order:—Much to the honour of the *republican directors*—and to the honour of yourself, J. Ch. Bailleul!!!

And the Directory signed this order without remembering, that, on the 17th of April, that is, seven days before, they must have signed a similar order, since in fact the Rhine had been passed on the 20th: yet they saw me come forward instantly *with every arrangement ready*, without remembering that seven days before they had already seen me come forward in the same manner *with every arrangement ready*. Thus then were the republican directors perfectly well informed of the affairs of the republic! And all this is proved *by official papers in the hands of the ministers!* If you are not *stupid*, honest Bailleul, you are at least sometimes rather simple!

I am aware, honest Bailleul, how tedious these odious calculations must appear to you; but allow me to pursue them a little farther, they are necessary for my justification; and I am fully convinced you are very happy, as well as the Directory, that I am able to prove my innocence!

The whole army, you say, can attest that every preparation had been made long before for passing the Rhine, and that they were only waiting for the orders of the Directory; but since the triumvirate, honest Bailleul, knew this, why did they not, without regarding my objections, give orders for the passage of the Rhine? Did they not form a majority in the Directory? Have you not, in the preceding article, declared that it was contrary to my opinion that they had caused the fortress of Kehl to be defended to the last extremity? Why then did they not also cause the Rhine to be passed contrary to my opinion? I had made a treaty of peace against the opinion of Reubel; surely he might have given orders for a military operation without my interference! How can they explain this complaisance for a man by whom they knew they were deceived; if they were not yet perfectly certain that every thing was prepared for passing the Rhine, although *the whole army can prove that every thing was ready*, could they not inform themselves of the fact by sending thither a confidential person? Could they not, as

you have ingeniously said, *make a feint at least of passing the Rhine*? Did this neglect arise from their pusillanimity, their carelessness, or their treachery?—It is to you, honest Bailleul, that I leave the decision of this question,

The passage of the Rhine, you say, was ordered the same day that intelligence arrived of the Treaty of Leoben; but do you observe, honest Bailleul, the encomium you hereby bestow on the fidelity and honour of the Directory, of which you so loudly boast? Having learnt that a treaty is concluded, the very first act they perform is to give orders for the violation of it: they give orders for a bloody battle the very moment they receive intelligence of the cessation of hostilities!

But supposing, as you would artfully insinuate, that the official news of the treaty had not yet arrived, that it had only *transpired*; was not a rumour, spread abroad among the public, a sufficient inducement to wait a few hours for the arrival of the courier with dispatches, before

orders for new massacres were issued? I had, therefore, sufficient ground for saying, that these humane directors sported with the lives of men, as you, honest Bailleul, sport with truth, and principal, and honour.

Produce this letter which you say I wrote on the very day the news of the Treaty of Leoben arrived. You deny that any orders were previously given to pass the Rhine, although innumerable orders to that effect exist in the official papers. You assert with the boldest effrontery, that orders were given on that very day, whereas the fact is evidently absurd and impossible. Thus do you accumulate lies and contradictions with equal impudence and folly. Most assuredly you deserve to be made an ambassador, or your lords and masters are unpardonably ungrateful!

Observe, honest Bailleul, that I have no official papers to refer to. I deny the facts, however, because I can rely with certainty on my memory, and I demonstrate your impostures, because you have been awkward enough, notwith-

standing the time you have employed, and calculated so ill, that you have left me the means of proving them physically impossible. The Directory have every thing in their own hands, and may make use of whatever suits their purpose, and lay aside what opposes it, putting half sentences in Italics, in order to distort the meaning. The mere want of accusation, after so elaborate an exertion, would suffice to prove my innocence, in the eyes of every reasonable person. I wonder they have not caused spurious papers to be fabricated, and my signature to be forged, for they are, like you, above those idle scruples which are calculated only for the *stupid*.

But, whether they fabricate spurious papers or not, *truth and time, that reveal all things* (as you very justly remark, in p. 6), will ultimately prevail, and thus the biters will be bit. Those must expect to meet with many rocks, who take so much pains to embark on a sea of perfidy. I have demonstrated their HORRID LIES: how, then, can they dare to expect that they

shall be any longer believed? A word or two more on the Rhine, Bailleul, and I will then dismiss this subject, which, I am sensible, must have made you *sweat* already.

What! did the directors who, as they themselves confess, have so long been planning in *their wisdom* the means of ruining me; who, for this purpose, carried on a private correspondence in the army; did the directors let this happy opportunity escape! What! did they omit to make the palace of the Directory resound with the cry of their indignation, when I had the cruelty to propose the gratuitous massacre of several thousand men! Yet, not one among them all rose to accuse me; or, assuming that superiority which every man must feel over a criminal whom he surprizes in the very fact, exclaimed, 'Wretch! we have, during two whole months, pressed and conjured you to order that the Rhine be passed, yet you have always raised insurmountable difficulties; and now that we receive intelligence of the signature of a treaty, which procures for the Republic that peace for

which we have so long been panting, you coldly recommend the violation of the treaty, and the fruitless massacre of the defenders of our country !’

‘ My colleagues ! (he would have continued, addressing the rest of the directors) I demand that the words I have just pronounced be recorded in the procès-verbal, as a ground for the future conviction of the criminal, and I recommend to you to follow my example. I demand that a message be immediately sent to the legislative body to denounce this traitor and prepare an act of accusation.’

What could I have replied to this charge ? Who, in that body, would have dared to have opened his mouth in my favour ? Had any one attempted to defend me, would he not have been immediately hissed down, and compelled to be silent ? What corner of the world would have offered me an asylum against the furies that would have pursued me, or the Promethæan vulture that would have gnawed my liver ?

On the contrary, what was the fact? Each of these benignant directors signed, without hesitation or observation, the fatal order for a massacre, and dispatched it to the army the very same day. Parricidal directors! it is evident you would really have signed those abominable orders, had they been offered to you for signature. In the blindness of your fury, you do not even perceive that you are accusing yourselves. The confession of the crime escapes you unawares. You miss your prey, are caught in your own snare, and remain bound to the stake of ignominy — AND THERE MAY YOU REMAIN !!!

And yet all France does not rise with one accord against these monsters of iniquity! And yet France calls itself free!! And the legislative body remains unoppressed!!!

Never was an operation urged with so much ardour, as the passage of the Rhine by me. The triumvirs, who, as I have said, never knew the extent of our resources; who,

like Xerxes, would willingly have flogged the Rhine, the sea, and all the elements that opposed the least resistance to their will; lolling at ease on their couches, declared that the Rhine *must* be passed — but how this was to be effected gave them very little concern. The Rhine is not to be forded, and bridges were necessary. Moreau asked for a very trifling sum of money, which was indispensably necessary for their construction. This money, which the Minister of Finances was continually saying should immediately be sent off, or was actually sent, never arrived. At length, Moreau determined to come himself to Paris to wrest it from the Treasury. I prevailed with him to set off on his return immediately, and risk a blow, even were he not prepared for it. Moreau, however, had no need of being pressed on this point. Never had the Republic a more faithful or a more modest servant. He returned, and the passage of the Rhine was executed! He astonished no one, except the enemy. In France they were satiated with victory. I did not myself expect so rapid a success. To avoid deceiving

the Army of Italy, and prevent them from advancing too far, before succours could arrive; in short, to prevent them from placing themselves in a *dangerous predicament* (read over your accusation once more, Bailleul), it was requisite that I should transmit them an accurate account of what I learned from the Rhine, and, consequently, inform them that all was not yet ready, nor would be for some time.

The passage of that river, however, was executed quicker than could have been expected, or even hoped; for they hazarded a great deal, merely to rescue the Army of Italy from its *dangerous predicament*. But, assuredly, had the Army of Italy even been apprized, by a telegraph, that the Rhine would be passed in two days, it would have been no less necessary to conclude the Treaty of Leoben. Joubert, notwithstanding his more than human resistance; notwithstanding his gigantic combats; was nevertheless forced in the Tyrol; the enemy entered Triest; and the army was threatened on both its flanks, and harrassed in its rear, by the

insurgents of the Venetian territories, who were waiting, with poniards, a favourable moment for our extermination.

At length, the Army of the Sambre and Meuse passed the Rhine, on the very day when the Treaty of Leoben was signed. Was this step also taken because they had received intelligence of the signature of the treaty? Yet this army was the only one that was in a condition to push the enemy with vigour, since it was at the gates of Frankfort when the courier arrived, through Germany, to inform it of the Treaty of Leoben, and cause hostilities to cease.

When the Preliminaries of Leoben were received at Paris, I rejoiced at beholding the return of peace to bless my country; and Le Tourneur participated my rejoicings: but the triumvirs groaned with vexation. *Réveillère* was as furious as a tiger, and *Reubel* sighed deeply; while *Barras*, though he highly disapproved the treaty, yet declared that it ought, nevertheless, to be accepted. On one of the following

days, unable to contain his rage, he suddenly arose, and, addressing himself to me like a madman, “ *Yes (said he), it is to you that we are indebted for the infamous Treaty of Leoben.*” To which I replied, that I exulted in having contributed to put an end to the horrors of war. And Reubel made a sign to Barras, to intimate that it was impolitic, to attribute to me all the honour of the pacification.

Finally : Bailleul says, as his last charge —

‘ *In another point of view, Carnot arrested the progress of the consideration which the Republic was acquiring abroad. Under pretext of a mistaken economy, the real tendency of which was to degrade the Republic, he proposed not to appoint any ambassadors ; he would only have employed chargés d’affaires : the consequence would have been, that the envoys of the Republic would have held the lowest rank at every court — whereas, the ambassadors of France have the precedence of all others, except those of the Germanic Confederation !*’

I have already observed that truth itself is transformed into a lie, when it passes through the impure organs of THESE THREE TYRANTS and their tools. This is an additional confirmation of my assertion.

It is true I thought it would be advantageous, for a considerable time to abstain from sending ministers and ambassadors to the various courts, *excepting those where we could nearly dictate the law; as, for instance, in Piedmont, in Holland, and in Spain*: and this I proposed to the Directory. But the motive of economy was but a very inferior consideration. The true reason I assigned was, that the Republic having humiliated all the other powers by their victories, it was to be feared that, peace being once made, those of the powers who were beyond our reach would show their resentment for this humiliation, if not by direct insults, at least by expressions of pointed indignities towards our ambassadors, and by marked preferences of the envoys of the royal courts, highly offensive to the Republic. That hence we should be ex-

posed either to take up arms to revenge these outrages, or shamefully to put up with the affront. It appears to me, that the events which have since taken place, the innumerable insults to the national flag, and the violences committed on the very persons of our envoys (although the great work of peace is not yet completed), are no small justifications of this train of argument.

I am aware how displeasing this must be to those who are suing for embassies at the hands of the Directory; but the little ceremony they use towards every foreign minister, of whom they think they have any cause of complaint, exposes them to reprisals, the dangerous effects of which I was desirous of preventing.

Thus it appears, that so far from endeavouring to degrade the Republic, it was from a desire that we should not lose our consideration abroad, that I proposed to continue some years without sending ambassadors to the distant courts; and that the Directory, attributing my proposal to

motives which they well knew were not my genuine reasons,—here again LIE with their accustomed perfidy.

But how are nations degraded? not, I imagine, by endeavouring to foresee and prevent whatever might become a subject of humiliation, or destroy the pledge of their tranquillity; not, I imagine, by endeavouring to place it in that prosperous situation, in which the display of their strength, being proportioned to their reproductive resources, insures the stability of their government.

No: a nation is degraded by its representatives, when they abuse the office they fill; in order to deceive it by the most execrable impostures, and proscribe the most faithful defenders of its interests.

They are degraded when they are misled, and rendered unprincipled, hardened, and corrupted; when they are made to blush for their virtues, taught to trample all principle under their feet,

and when those who act conformably to the constitution are branded with the epithet of *stupid*.

They are degraded, when they are robbed of all their rights, and an arbitrary and tyrannic system is substituted for the social compact they had accepted, and are told that this is liberty !

They are degraded, when the calumniators, the intolerant, and the shameless, obtain the title of true patriots ; when he whom the public voice points out as the greatest shuffler, the most depraved and the most despotic, is sure to be the man who obtains the confidence of the government.

They are degraded, when the servants of the people, betraying the sacred cause they had undertaken to defend, become the fabricators of their own slavery ; when we behold them fawning in the antichambers of the distributors of places ; when they are proud of humbling themselves to the dust, cover themselves with

disgrace, and acknowledge, as an invariable maxim, that whoever respects the national representation is a royalist !

Thus it is, honest Bailleul, that a people are degraded, or, rather, that they would in time become so, were it possible that a nation of thirty millions of intrepid and generous citizens could be degraded by the depravity of their governors, and the baseness of a few faithless servants. No ! to that nation every thing that is grand and sublime belongs, nor can any thing that is great be performed but by their resistless mass ; while all the follies and littleneesses they seem to commit are but the work of a few individuals whom alone they can dishonour.

Thus have I detailed the act of accusation drawn up by the Executive Directory. I have examined it charge by charge ; I have proved that each of these charges was the act of accusation of the Directory themselves, nor can all their resentment tear a single trophy from the monument of infamy I have been erecting to their

memory. Let them, on their part, erect another to immortalize their victory of the 18th Fructidor. The true friends of liberty must be desirous they should; it is a triumph they are preparing for them: these monuments will, however, be one day destroyed, they will be carried away with a breath of air, like a Colossus with feet of crumbling clay, or like that statue which crushed the chimera of federation in the *Place des Invalids*. The 2d of September and the 31st of May were also at one time immortal days. But what are they now? They are precisely what the 18th Fructidor will one day become. Marat was carried in triumph to the Pantheon, and soon after his carcase was thrown into a common sewer; and SUCH IS THE FINAL JUDGEMENT THAT AWAITS THE TRIUMVIRS.

In the meanwhile I will endeavour to throw a few rays of light on the character of those hideous monsters. But to do this I must resume the act of accusation. The proofs must be had from the *honest Bailleul*, who will certify upon

his conscience (which is not that of a *stupid fellow*) that they are in the hands of the ministers ; that is to say, in the mouth of their cannon. *Republican directors* must certainly be believed upon their words. Every one knows it is by implicit faith that men are to be saved, especially the representatives of the people, and that there is a place called Guyana for infidels.

After six months then of laborious research, and after employing all the talents of their hired fabricators of documents, the *republican Directory* have at length discovered—

1st, *That I denied that assassinations were committed* : — whereas all I have said or written proves diametrically the opposite to be the truth — whereas the Directory have in their own hands the papers I myself furnished for the prosecution and conviction of assassins — whereas it is this very *republican Directory*, who have sheltered these assassins beneath their protecting wing, and have constantly refused to cause them to be punished.

2d, *That I opposed the dismissal of Willot:—* whereas the *republican directors* formed a majority in the Directory, and consequently retained Willot in place, notwithstanding the conviction they declare themselves to have felt, that Willot was a murderer and a cut-throat,

3d, *That I had every day secret and confidential interviews with Pichegru:—* whereas I never saw Pichegru but once by appointment, and then not in secret or confidentially, and once more by chance for two minutes in the presence of ten witnesses, and without speaking to him—whereas I did all I could by indirect means to induce him to decide in favour of the patriots.

4th, *That I was the advocate of kings and of the emperor:—* whereas I voted for the death of Louis, made every other king tremble, and stormed the imperial throne—whereas it was the *republican directors* who, having during five months resisted the conclusion of a treaty which was advantageous for the republic, at last concluded a treaty that renders the emperor more

powerful than ever, and such as might have been expected had his troops been constantly victorious in Italy.

5th, *That I supported the political existence of the Pope*:—whereas by making peace with Naples, notwithstanding the opposition of the *republican directors*, I robbed the Pope of the only support by which he could maintain his political existence—whereas I proposed to the *republican directors*, who were averse to the measure, to strip the Pope of his temporal power, in order to transfer it to another power (Spain), that might have become a counterpoise to the House of Austria, and annihilated his pretensions to the titles of Emperor and King of the Romans; titles which will ere long be realised in that house, after having cost France a great deal of blood: and all this arising from the measures of superlative wisdom and foresight pursued in Italy by our *republican directors*.

6th, *That I was desirous to convert all our conquests into kingdoms, and particularly to re-*

give the kingdom of the Lombards :—whereas, on the contrary, I proposed to our *republican directors*, who were averse to the measures, to turn our conquests to advantage in order to aggrandize the French republic, to convert into a republic an extensive country of the new world, which languishes under the dominion of a king—whereas our *republican directors* have *royalized* a *republic* which was among our *conquests*, by delivering up Venice to the Emperor !

7th, *That I was desirous of sacrificing Holland* :—whereas it was our *republican directors*, who, full of *fidelity* and honour, were resolved to plunder that nation—whereas it was they who there systematically maintained anarchy and disorder—whereas it was they, who boast of *acknowledging no law but the law of the strongest*—whereas it is certain, and will be proved so by the event, that the plan of the *republican directors*, who are so full of *fidelity* and honour, is to unite with England, with England that is a kingdom, with England, whose extermination

they have sworn, in sharing the plunder of the possessions belonging to the *Batavian republic!*

8th, *That I opposed the defending Kehl as long as it was possible to defend it:—*whereas the *republican directory* have in their hands the orders given by me, and a thousand times repeated, to defend Kehl to the last extremity—whereas it would be to themselves, who formed a majority of the Directory, that the crime was to be imputed, had Kehl not been defended as it ought to have been.

9th, *That I would not give orders for the last passage of the Rhine till we had received intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben:—*whereas the Rhine was passed on the very day of the signature of the Treaty of Leoben (which is 300 leagues from Paris) by the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and two days after by that of the Rhine and Moselle—whereas all Paris knew of the passage of the Rhine two days before they could receive any intelligence of the Treaty of Leoben — whereas our *republican directors*

accuse themselves of the twofold crime, 1st, of having themselves, who formed the majority, neglected to give orders for passing the Rhine at the time when, according to them, it was practicable and necessary; and, 2d, of having given orders for that manœuvre at a time when it could only tend to the massacre of the defenders of the country, to the violation of the laws of nations, and to revive the flames of war at the very moment when the war was brought to a conclusion.

10th, *That, to rob the Republic of its consideration abroad, I proposed the not sending ambassadors to the various courts:—*whereas our republican directors well know that, on the contrary, my motive was to prevent the Republic from losing its consideration abroad—whereas it is they who, by their puerile haughtiness of conduct towards the envoys of foreign courts, expose those of the Republic to humiliating retaliations, and the Republic itself to the perpetual danger either of suffering unresented degradations, or of renewing the war, and that nume-

rous examples have proved the justice of my fears in this respect!

I ask, therefore, do not the fabricators of such an act of accusation deserve *that men should spit in their faces, horsewhip them in all the streets and squares of Paris, affix labels on their backs and on their breasts, with the words IMPOSTORS, MISCREANTS, ASSASSINS, and send them to the Pantheon of Marat, to enjoy the immortality they have merited?—And is not the impunity of these MONSTERS an irrefragable proof that FRANCE IS UNDER THE YOKE OF THE MOST ABJECT SLAVERY?*

The system pursued by the Directory is by no means ambiguous to any one who has attentively observed their proceedings: their system is evidently to found the power of the nation less on the aggrandisement of the Republic, than on the weakness and destruction of its neighbours; to fight them one against another, to treat them as friends so long as they may have occasion to paralyse them by exhausting all the

succours they can yield, and when the time is come for crushing them, instantly to employ their fertile genius in inventing sufficient pretexts to practice the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb.

Let us but attend to their conduct towards the little Cantons of Switzerland. Here it was not the oligarchy of Berne they had to contend with; it was not those against whom so many grievances were alleged; it was not those Cantons that had a treasure of thirty millions, and a magnificent arsenal;—No, it was the true children of William Tell, real democrats, poor men almost destitute of any traffic, even with their neighbour! No matter, they must be revolutionized. Consequently, that liberty which has rendered them happy during a period of 500 years, that liberty which has so long been the envy of France, is now proved not to be the liberty their welfare requires; no, they must chuse between the constitution that is presented to them and death. They refused this constitution, which they found less demo-

cratical than their own, and therefore they were massacred: for it is clear that nothing but fanaticism and intrigues could dissuade them from accepting this pledge of their new-fangled felicity. To kill them is indeed the surest means of preventing them from believing priests and intriguers! This handful, however, of simple men, who have during 300 years been utter strangers to fighting, dare to resist their invaders; their republican blood is mingled with that of the republicans of France, not jointly to defend the sacred rights of nations, but gratuitously to massacre each other.

O impious war! in which the Directory seem to have had no other object than to know how many victims they could sacrifice to their caprice, from among the free, the poor, and the most virtuous, part of mankind; to assassinate Liberty in her native soil, and to punish the mountains of Helvetia for having given her birth. Worthy rivals of Grissler; the triumvirs were determined to exterminate the race of William Tell; and by them was the death of

the tyrant to be revenged. The heads of the democratic families were offered up to his manes; they died defending the frontiers of their little territory, and resisting the violation of their own homes. Their affrighted flocks fled to the desarts; the Glaciers resounded with the cries of orphans perishing with hunger; and the sources of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Adda, bore the tears of disconsolate and despairing widows to the most distant seas!

Happily for me, I cannot be accused of having been a party to these disgraceful transactions. Had I been a member of the Directory at that time, against me would the accusation have been one day brought forward. May the political consequences of these transactions never prove fatal to France!

Formerly, even in time of war with foreign powers, the frontiers of Switzerland, from Hunninguen to Geneva, were disarmed, because the fidelity and the neutrality of the Cantons were deemed perfectly secure; but now that

frontier will always require FORTY THOUSAND men, partly to occupy Switzerland itself, and partly to preserve the neighbouring departments, which are destitute of military posts!

It was by their industry, and their virtue, that the democratic Cantons of Switzerland maintained their political existence. *It is impossible these poor countries should long be able to support a foreign army, and the expences of an administration less popular and more costly than their former government.* I have already observed that there can be no stability in a state, whatever be the nature of its constitution, unless there exists an equilibrium between the exertion of its resources and its reproductive powers. This equilibrium is evidently destroyed in Switzerland; it is also equally destroyed in the Cisalpine Republic, in that of Genoa, and in Rome. Each of these countries consume more than they annually receive from nature. Thus as soon as the funds, on which those governments subsist, are exhausted, new troubles and disorders will immediately arise. What will then be the issue, I

know not ; but I hope it will not be *a new war of EXTERMINATION FOR THE FRENCH REPUBLIC!*

France herself, if this equilibrium is not restored between her receipts and her expenditures, *will infallibly experience new shocks.* But in France it is not nature that refuses the means of subsistence ; — on the contrary, she lavishes them in abundance, and a deficiency could only arise from the defects of the administration. — *Had France, instead of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, concluded a general peace, her prosperity would at this day have surpassed that of the happiest nations recorded in history ; but at this moment she is on the verge of inevitable ruin, unless her eyes are speedily opened to the situation of her finances — unless the foundation of a wise system of political economy is speedily laid.*

The same line of conduct is adopted by the Directory within as they have pursued without. They consider themselves in the same point of

view, with regard to the citizens of France, as they consider the Republic with regard to other powers ; they consider them but as so many enemies, on the weakening and division of whom their authority can alone be founded. Instead of labouring, from the moment of their creation, to unite the hearts of the people, and rally them around the Constitution ; instead of pouring balm into the wounds occasioned by a long and bloody revolution ; they irritate their passions afresh, and make odious nicknames the order of the day. They send the torch of discord into the bosom of the legislative body ; the most violent expressions are lavished in the messages of the Directory, in harangues that are totally foreign to domestic affairs, and even in the most familiar discourses. Their armies are seduced, and their minds inflamed ; they are become a deliberative body. The bitterness of gall is spread abroad by means of the newspapers, and they employ under them the vilest of creatures—men to whom no one would confide the most trifling of his personal concerns. Thus was the

immortal day concluded, a funeral veil extended over the rights of man, and the Constitution stabbed to its vitals !

The resolution to mutilate the national representation was formed from the time of the election of the year V. It was Reubel who conceived the plan ; and the rest acquiesced in it, when the particulars were explained, and the success represented as infallible.

This plan being once adopted and decided on, they began elaborately to search for pretexts to justify the transaction they were *meditating in their wisdom* ; and these pretexts the leading members in the Council of Five Hundred but too amply furnished them with. The favours granted to the enemies of the revolution ; the refusal of justice to the patriots, however pure their characters ; the degradation of every thing that related to the executive power ; the shackles every where prevailing ; the unjust reproaches and absurd interpretations of all the proceedings

of the Directory ; lying reports on the finances ; insults, menaces ; refusal of every means of acting with advantage ; — these are the crimes with which the leading members of the Council have to reproach themselves !

But how many of these leaders were there ? They did not amount to fifteen. *All that was necessary was to exclude them from the committees, and this was the line of conduct that would have been pursued by every wise and enlightened man.* They even began to put this plan in execution, and the Directory trembled lest any arrangement should be adopted whereby the minds of the people would have been calmed ; for then, perhaps, they would have been at a loss for pretexts to justify, or means to execute, their grand designs.

The perpetrators of crimes, however, were triumphant ; and, as in all other conspiracies, every one of the conspirators inserted his personal enemies in the lists of proscriptions, without opposition from his accomplices. Thus Osta-

vius, Anthony, and Lepidus, reciprocally gave up to each other's revenge those who were their dearest and most faithful friends!

Had not terror petrified the representatives of the people; had not a military force surrounded them; or, rather, had not the parts in the farce been previously distributed to the actors; they would have refused to deliberate till the liberty of the legislative body was restored. But, even supposing fear could force those to deliberate who refused, it would have been enough had they observed that the assembly ought to confine themselves to the arrest of the accused members; since, as far as regarded the public safety, this accusation would produce the same effect as their condemnation; a procedure which in no wise belonged to the legislative body, and of which the reporter himself declared he could not assign the grounds. But who could have prevented this proposition from being adopted, had they been possessed of proofs, had they not been reduced to declare, like Bailleul, that '*we do*

not attempt to prove the existence of light, and that they would imagine they had but feebly apprehended the intentions of the legislative body, if they came forwards with proofs or furnished justifications !

On this occasion, they spoke of the *constitutional jury* of Sieyès as of a means that might have prevented the events of the 18th Fructidor, but this idea was destitute of the least foundation; the constitutional jury would themselves have been exiled as well as the representatives of the people and the members of the Directory. I know of no social compact that can resist the attacks of cannon; no work sufficiently solid to continue unimpaired, when those who are appointed its guardians are sacrilegious enough to destroy it themselves !

But if at some future period when the people of France shall have burst their fetters, and the representatives shaken off the lamentable oppression under which they groan, these saviours of their country and their accomplices should be

dragged to trial for the immortal day, could they with any justice complain when they are told, " You are brought before this tribunal for having meditated in your wisdom, and, in your love for the constitution, effected the dissolution of the legislative body, and for acts of tyranny worthy of Louis XI., of Christiern, and of Cromwell. You shall be dealt with in the very same manner, and with the very same weight you have used towards others. Thus are you, first of all, condemned, and now you are allowed to enter on your defence. But this you must consider is a particular favour, for you have refused it to others, even after their proscription."——

" What proofs," could they say, " are brought against us?"——*' We do not attempt to prove the existence of light,'* would be the answer.——

" But why deny the people, who are anxious to be informed, the demonstration of our crimes?"——

' We are not come to adduce proofs or furnish justifications.'——" But we demand the observance of the constitutional laws."——*' Let us banish those absurd theories of pretended principles, those stupid invocations of the constitution.'*——" Are we

then to be put to death?"—"No, we are full of humanity and you will not be put to death, because we have but a very few of you in our power, and we will not dip our hands in blood for so trifling an object; and besides we know not what effect it would have upon the people. It is merely an experiment we are making. We want no blood: at present a copious flow of tears will satisfy us. We know this is a grand means of succeeding in our experiment. You shall only be exiled and your families ruined; for it is perfectly just that children at the breast should be punished for the crimes of their fathers. If your co-operators in the counter-revolution, whom we have not in our power, will have the goodness to go to Rochefort to be embarked for transportation, the property of their relations shall be restored until the necessities of the state shall oblige us to pronounce their final confiscation. We had at first intended to send you to Madagascar, but as it is said the inhabitants of that island no longer devour men, we have determined to send you to Guyana, where you will be furnished with implements of husbandry,

and will be very happy. Thus you see how mild and merciful we are. But the manners that prevail in this republic are too effeminate. We will act better when we shall have wound up the public opinion to its proper pitch, which we hope to accomplish by influencing the next elections, as ought to be the practice in every free country. You will farther observe, that in your act of accusation, where the principal charges are entirely the offspring of our own invention, you are not all expressly named. This formality did not appear necessary to the *republican dictators*, because it is not your names but your persons that are condemned. It is true we would guillotine the lowest officer of police who should make such a rhapsody; this degree of perfection belongs exclusively to the supreme authorities. It has been invented expressly for this new session of the revolutionary tribunal, which has indulgently brought you to their bar. Thank us then for this elegant discourse, the appositeness of which is as striking as that of your Grand Master Réveillère's to the Cisalpine

ambassador, when he received him, and then—
Depart, go about your business.'

Perhaps some of the representatives were really guilty ; perhaps some among them were really royalists. Why not suspend them and bring them to trial according to the forms of the constitution ? It would have been a great and a striking example. " But in the midst of a vast plot and conspiracy on the point of execution, we cannot adhere to legal forms without incurring the greatest danger." This was the very reason why the Directory have given to the secret and impotent manœuvres of a few individuals the show of a conspiracy, the thread of which extended to the most distant corners of the Republic. It was the next morning they were to be massacred. The very next day the Republic was no longer to exist. It was the Genius of Liberty alone that had inspired the resolution to fly to arms for the indispensable calls of self-defence. The outposts of the directorial palace had already been forced, although

the Directory had long been meditating, *in their wisdom*, that immortal day for which their orders were already drawn up and their proclamations printed.

They were determined then to rid themselves of two hundred members of the two councils; but how could this be accomplished without separating them, by some previous operation, from the legislative body? The supposition of a vast plot and conspiracy was, therefore, indispensably necessary to the success of the scheme the Directory were meditating *in their wisdom*; and who can blame them for having done what was indispensably necessary?

It was equally indispensable, that after the execution of this scheme they should justify it in the eyes of the public; and that the truth, and the facts, being against them, they should call in the aid of lies. How can they be accused on this account? When lies are necessary, are they not also excusable? Would it not be *stupidity* itself, to be scrupulous on such an occasion?

In short, a crime was become necessary to save the commonwealth. Than this, nothing can be more evident. *We do not attempt to prove the existence of light.* A second crime was necessary to justify the former, a third to justify the second, a series, an accumulation of every crime was become indispensable to conceal these horrors. Thus, are these horrors in fact no horrors, and these crimes no crimes: they are the virtues of the Directory who, amidst all their crimes, cannot be charged with the guilt of *stupidity*.

I venerate, as their merits deserve, men who are distinguished for their *virtues*! But, I would thank any one who would have the goodness to inform me, how three villains would have acted in their place had they wished to become masters of the Republic, and execute their proscription-lists? I would ask, in what respect would the conduct of these miscreants have differed from that of the *virtuous* directors? I would inquire, whether they would not have made precisely the same use of the words republic, royalism, liberty, and fidelity; whether

they would not have associated the same co-operators in their noble labours; whether they would not have justified their actions by still more atrocious calumnies; and proved the criminality of their victims by saying, that *we do not attempt to prove the existence of light?*

The celebrated Mandrin also boasted of his humanity: when he had brought about an 18th Fructidor in the recesses of some remote forest; when he had robbed the passengers on the highway, he did not always kill them, and, above all, he did not calumniate them after he had plundered them of their property! He also adopted the sublime principles of the *honest Bailleul*. He would in case of need, with the assistance of a special committee composed of the most distinguished of his gang, have adduced *luminous* proofs that the passengers had only come there with an intention of murdering him, and that they had already forced his outposts. Retiring with his protecting comrades to share the spoil of their *immortal day*, he was willing the division should be made with a truly trium-

viral fidelity; and had he lived in these days, it may be doubted, whether the *republican directors* would not have preferred him to Augereau, for the execution of the scheme they had *meditated in their wisdom*. But then, virtuous and republican directors well know, that the great Mandrin at length received the just reward of his crimes.

‘ Very well (some one will reply), you have demonstrated that the transactions of the 18th and 19th Fructidor were great political crimes; but tell us what ought to have been done in the critical circumstances in which we were placed? Tell us what we ought to do, when it clearly appears that a part of the legislative body are about to effect a counter-revolution, and that this part of that legislature is possessed of so much influence that they will carry every resolution they support, and negative every salutary measure?’

I reply, 1st, That they might have avoided this crisis, by more deference and tenderness

towards the legislative body, by sending them messages less harsh and imperious, by recalling some of the commissaries of the executive power, of whose ill-conduct these representatives adduced innumerable proofs ; in short, by showing a more sincere desire of making peace with the foreign powers, for that was the principal cause of the want of confidence in them. They feared that, by giving the Directory too much latitude, especially in financial resources, they would avail themselves of these merely to prolong the war, rather than to bring it to a speedy termination. It is certain that this line of conduct would have reconciled the greater number of the irritated representatives, and that the rest would have soon blushed at the shameful part they had been induced to act.

I answer, 2dly, that having by their haughtiness and impudence lost the opportunity of adopting this first mode, which however was the best, the misunderstanding being at length so great that every one was conscious of the danger he should individually incur, they ought

speedily to have applied themselves to conciliatory measures. The legislative body had already felt the necessity of adopting these measures, and had renewed their committees and their officers, and removed those who had abused the confidence reposed in them : the representatives, who were the best known for their good character and their talents, had ventured to oppose all their incidental motions which threw the Council of Five Hundred into disorder, that it might exclusively attend to questions of higher importance, and chiefly to the restoration of the finances. Here indeed it is, that the greatest reproach must fall on the Executive Directory, as the smallest motion on their part would have reunited the majority of the representatives to them : but so far from taking this line of conciliatory conduct, or even endeavouring to discover what would produce that effect, the Directory dreaded lest a reconciliation should take place. They laboured with incredible activity daily to augment the causes of discontent and of alarm, and were fearful their deep-laid plots and preparations should prove fruitless. In

short, they were determined on the execution of the grand scheme they had so long been *meditating in their wisdom*.

I reply, 3dly, that the evil having once become irremediable, a 20th of June was more wanted than a 31st of May. The patriotic representatives then ought to have presented an address to the people of France, wherein they should have demonstrated with energy the continual violations of the constitution, and proved that a part of the councils were determined to subvert it. They ought at the same time to have demanded of the Directory, who, like them, had sworn to support the constitution, to afford them an asylum against the tyranny of these declared enemies of the Republic, to protect them by force, and to provide for their personal security in their character of representatives of the people. This proceeding would have been incontestably adopted by a majority of the councils, or at least by all those whom the Directory thought worthy of continuing in it after the 18th Fructidor. From that moment the legislative body

could not be dissolved: the Directory could no longer have operated, or of their own authority removed those who displeased them by the cannon and the bayonet, forced the rest to deliberate by terror, and erected them into a revolutionary tribunal. But, on the contrary, the majority of the representatives would have sought for refuge against the violence of the minority, under the protection of an armed force, that their deliberations might be free. The public would have seen, on the one hand, this wise majority, with the victory on its side, both in intention and sentiment; and on the other, a pitiful and naked minority, a minority to whom the agitation which reigned there from the beginning of the new session, was already imputed. What could this minority have done? It would have been immediately abandoned by all parties, its members would have been shamefully dispersed, and would never have re-appeared; every citizen would have applauded this constitutional measure, the public opinion would have rallied freely and without fear around the legislative body and the Directory, and if there were

among those who had been dismissed any who were charged with positive crimes, they would have been constitutionally tried by the high national court, where they would have been condemned with universal applause, because the eyes of the public would then have been completely opened.

Such would have been their conduct had their object been the preservation of their country, had not ambition, jealousy, and revenge been the secret springs of all their actions. It would then have been unnecessary to have procured addresses from the Army of Italy, it would then have been unnecessary to have surrounded Paris with the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, it would have been unnecessary to have taken the command of the 17th military Division from the brave Hatry to place it in the hands of a miscreant. Those whose views are honest have occasion only to employ honest means. To preserve a good constitution, we need only search among its own resources for the means of its preservation; and to pretend that it cannot be

saved from its enemies except by plunging into the paths of tyranny, and into the defiles of iniquity, is to pronounce its condemnation : but this constitutional proceeding did not accord with the views of the Executive Directory, because that was not the road to the establishment of their Dictatorship ; because they could not then have destroyed all those who were included in their proscription-lists ; because many of those pretended counter-revolutionists, being obliged to decide, aye or no, would then have suddenly opened their eyes, and perceived the abyss to which their blind hatred towards their governors was dragging them ; they would have abjured their little passions, and at length emphatically declared themselves on the side of the patriots. Perhaps a ray of light might have darted on them, and the torch of discord being extinguished, France would have beheld a grand system of reconciliation, instead of universal mourning, and the most brilliant triumph of the constitution instead of its utter annihilation.

But it might be said, "If it was in fact the will of the majority of the representatives that the counter-revolution should take place; those who, adopting what you have stated, separated themselves from the councils, and, were left in a minority, would have been considered by the public as a faction."

To this, I reply first, that even were this possible it was not so on the 18th Fructidor, since the expurgation made by the Directory only produced the exclusion of about two hundred members; a very great majority therefore, even according to themselves, were for the support of the constitution, which, therefore, might have been saved by its own resources.

But to answer every objection, let us suppose for a moment, that it was the will of the majority of the legislative body that the counter-revolution should take place: then, I say, not only that insurrection is justifiable, but that it becomes a duty; and, can it be thence inferred that I would advise, that an act of the legislative body should be passed

which would proclaim a king, or the constitution of 1793, or the outlawry of the members of the Directory? certainly not. But every insurrection imposes on those by whom it is espoused (especially when its partizans are any of the constituted authorities) two duties, the omission of which becomes either tyranny or high treason. The first is to demonstrate to the people, that the insurrection was indispensable to the preservation of the constitution, the annihilation of which could by no other means have been prevented. The second is to demonstrate, that every one whom the revolutionary movement destroys was truly and individually guilty. Neither of these duties were discharged by the Directory; and the law of the 19th Fructidor is no other than an outlawry (without any justifiable ground) of a part of the national representation, and of the first magistrates of the Republic.

In the first place, the Directory might have saved the constitution by its own resources, as I have already proved; but, as I have also demonstrated, they were far, very far, from em-

ploying or endeavouring to discover the means it offered to prevent the blow aimed at its existence.

Secondly, They have not proved that each of the members included in the proscription was guilty; they have not stated any crime against the greater number, nor were their names even pronounced previous to their sentence of condemnation; which, as I just stated, was no other than an outlawry. After six months elaborate exertion, the chairman of the committee comes forward and declares to the council, that he has "no proofs to give, that the documents are in the hands of the ministers, and that we do not attempt to prove the existence of light."

But supposing it were even as clear as the light, that it was their intention to produce a counter-revolution, yet it is not as clear as the light that such and such individual members were among the conspirators; and this want of evidence is proved by the legislative body having erased several of its members from the list: hence, it ap-

pears, they were fully convinced that the Directory themselves were guilty of falsehood, or, at least, that they were in an error. And who can prove that the council would not have erased a still greater number had every member dared to speak, had they not been surrounded by a military force, or had they voted on each individual name by ballot?

Either proofs existed against each of the accused, or they did not; I do not mean legal but moral evidence, such as would convince every intelligent and honest man; if there did not, the Directory were guilty of an outrage against the national representation; if there did, they are now guilty of high treason for suppressing it. For, not only have they brutally violated the constitution, contaminated it by the poison of their touch, and destroyed the sacred forms which gave it, in the eyes of the people, a celestial dignity, but, by the horrid example of condemning men in a mass, without assigning the grounds of accusation, they have furnished weapons to all those who, in the critical circumstances which

they may have themselves produced, are desirous to take advantage of those very circumstances to proscribe their personal enemies. The immortal day of the 18th Fructidor is the archetype of all the days of calamity and horror which will succeed it; it will furnish a justification to every miscreant who, in future ages, shall tear the vitals of his country; yes, it will be an immortal day in the annals of crimes!

Thus are the Directory guilty of high treason, even should they be possessed of real proofs against each individual they have proscribed. If not, a worse alternative remains, and still more superlatively criminal is their conduct, should those which in fact exist, exculpate the accused and prove *them* guilty; or, should even *their* own assertions, as I have shown, demonstrate that they are continually contradicting themselves, and that, even were these assertions true, it would be the Directory themselves that would be chargeable with all the crimes which they impute to others. And can any rational being believe that, had they been possessed of

proofs, they would have omitted to produce them? They have produced all they did possess: nor have they spoken of papers in the hands of the ministers but in order to imply that they had farther evidence to adduce; when, on the contrary, by their artifice in drawing inferences from the facts they state, and by suppressing those which perhaps might have explained or extenuated the imputed criminality, they show that they have omitted no species of delusion that could favour their cause. But I have watched their duplicity, their insidious precaution, and their Machiavelian art too long, not to assert with confidence that the Directory have no other proofs than those they have published; and that *all that is reserved, or deposited in the hands of the ministers*, could only serve to weaken or belie the facts they have asserted.

What, then, remains to be done? I do not hesitate to declare (nor is it for myself I speak; the freedom of my language relative to the triumvirs is a sufficient proof that I have no de-

fire either to enjoy their indulgence or again to expose myself to their fury)—I do not hesitate to declare then, that the *persons proscribed ought to be recalled*. If their return is not effected by the operation of a law resulting from an emotion of generosity, it may one day be attended with the most fatal consequences.

It is impossible but that the heart of many a worthy man, from whom this act of tyranny was extorted by shame and terror, should be corroded with remorse, and that they should protest, as soon as it is in their power, against the outrage in which they had been forced to participate. It is impossible but that the nation, who are always just in the end, should not at last punish the real authors. I do not say, and I am very far from thinking, that the proscribed members ought to resume their seats in the legislative body. This would give birth to new calamities. No! I say that each of them ought to be restored to their domestic circles, as citizens under the protection of the law. The public opinion has already pronounced judge-

ment on each of them in particular: it has distinguished the true criminals, if any there really are, from those (at least nineteen-twentieths of the number) whose minds are pure, and devoted to the Republic. The real criminals will live deprived of power, and happy in the oblivion of their baseness. Those whose conduct is irreproachable will not expose themselves to censure by asserting rights which still exist, because they have only been suspended by tyranny, but which, if these representatives were restored, would be eventually proscribed; because that restoration might give birth to new troubles. When the rights of the whole nation were covered with a funereal veil, could their representatives complain of the outrage exercised against theirs? I am aware of those declamatory maxims by which it is asserted that we should relax from none of our rights. Arguments are never wanting to justify the desires of ambition or the gratification of revenge. But I am also aware that still better reasons may be adduced for the sacrifice of such passions, especially when that sacrifice is indispensably necessary to the tran-

quillity of our country. The most glorious triumphs are those over our own self-love, because they satisfy it in a manner more affecting and durable.

So long as the legislative body shall defer this measure, they will prove, either that they are still under actual oppression, or, that the new members, who have succeeded those excluded on the 19th Fructidor, are afraid their predecessors should claim their seats; — a littleness which cannot be attributed to the representatives of a great nation.

The Constitution was violated; nor can any one venture to deny it; no one can attempt to prove that a crime which is committed is not committed. But we must not persist in rendering that crime perpetual; it must not be converted into an inheritance, passing from one session to that which succeeds it, from one legislative generation to another.

In fact, there were two hundred members in the Councils who were enemies of the directors, but not of the Republic. The tyrants affected to confound the individual hatred of which they were themselves the sole object, with a hatred for liberty itself. Such, too, was the language of Robespierre. His private enemies were always those of the people, and the National Convention was but an assembly of conspirators. But, on the contrary, to hate tyrants is in fact the strongest proof of the love of liberty. Many of the representatives, no doubt, committed an error in not sacrificing their private animosities; they did not perceive the danger to which their imprudence not only exposed the common weal, but in which also they were themselves involved.

I exerted myself to reclaim those with whom I was acquainted; yet none of them were the leading members: none of them appeared to me to have formed a system for the destruction of liberty. No: they were enlightened, coura-

geous, republicans; but, unfortunately, in a state of exasperation. Others, it is true, attempted to visit me, and my door was open indiscriminately to all the representatives of the people; but there were some who were deterred by the coldness of their reception. Two of the latter, addressed me in an ambiguous manner, and a third spoke expressly of outlawing the triumvirs. He asked me the effect it would produce; the effect, said I, would be to reduce us to mere citizens, and impose on us the duties of insurrection against you: from the moment that you pronounce an outlawry against a single individual, you have annihilated the Constitution, you are no longer representatives of the people, you are tyrants, you are yourselves outlaws — a new revolution, a civil war, and your certain death, are the effects it will produce. This deputy, as may easily be imagined, did not repeat his visit.

During this period, the *generous directors were meditating in their wisdom* how they should cut my throat. They prepared for this act, which

was so full of equity, of fidelity, and of honour, by the calumnies with which they filled the journals; — they endeavoured to justify it by the most palpable lies, and the most glaringly absurd and the blackest accusations, that could have invented by the mind of man.

In the mean while, the crisis was approaching. I might have secured some chances in my favour, by throwing myself either into the one or the other of the prevailing factions; but I preferred exposing myself to almost certain destruction, by their concussion, and I shall never repent of the line of conduct I pursued.

When the triumvirs surrounded Paris, with a column of the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, Hoche came to visit me. I had with great difficulty saved his life in the time of Robespierre. I had restored him to liberty immediately after the 27th of July. And I had caused the three Western Armies to be united in one, that he might have the command of the whole, because I knew no man, except him, who could

terminate the war of La Vendée, and of the *Chouans*. All this he knew, and seemed to reproach himself with his injustice towards me, and his weakness, in suffering himself to be seduced into the party he had espoused. He then gave me to understand that he was retained in that party, in spite of his better judgement, by the influence of women: and it is certain that the women played a most active part in the Fructidorian Revolution.

I reproached him with this movement of the army, which had in no wise been approved of by the Directory; but he replied "that he could not undertake the expedition against Ireland without troops." You well know (said I), General, that there are 43,000 men upon the coasts; and of what use are these numerous troops of cavalry that you are bringing with you? "They are some regiments (said he) that I have formed myself, and which are extremely attached to me."

Hoche was a man of great abilities, and could not but be extremely dangerous, by taking any party whatever in political affairs.— I am of opinion that his old animosity against Pichegru may have contributed to determine what line of conduct he would pursue. For the military talents of that officer he affected a great degree of contempt. Their rivalry had commenced at the raising of the siege of Landau, when Pichegru (though protected by St. Just and Le Bas, then representatives of the people in the Army of the Rhine, and enjoying a great preponderancy) had, however, given up the chief command of the combined armies to Hoche (who was supported by Cofte and Baudot, representatives of the people with the Army of the Moselle).

At the commencement of the war, Hoche, who was then but little known, sent a memorial to the Committee of Public Safety on the means of penetrating into Belgium. When I had read this memorial, I said, in the way of

conversation, to the Committee, Here is a fer-
jeant of infantry who will get forward. My
colleagues asked me of whom I spoke. Amuse
yourselves, said I, with perusing that memorial;
for, although you are not officers, it will interest
you. Robespierre took it up, and when he had
read it said, " This man is extremely danger-
ous;" and I am of opinion it was from that
very moment he resolved to destroy him.

A striking trait of the villany of the triumvirs
appeared, when, having surrounded Paris with
troops from the Army of the Sambre and Meuse,
they declared that it was I who had given the
orders for that manœuvre. They imagined this
imposture would have an air of probability, be-
cause I was charged with the military corre-
spondence, and was also at that time President
of the Directory, and consequently had the sig-
nature of the whole. Hoche mysteriously exhi-
bited a paper signed by me, and insinuated that
it was an order for the marching of the troops.
This order had, in fact, first been solicited under
the pretext of the expedition against Ireland,

and the application had been afterwards renewed, and supported by Reubel in particular, under that of new troubles among the Chouans. But I opposed it, because I knew that there were more troops than were necessary on the coast in the neighbourhood of Brest.

In fact, it was their intention that Paris should be surrounded with troops, and that it should appear to be done by my orders. It was only when the triumvirs believed they could derive credit from their crimes that these mysteries began to be cleared up, by their own avowal, that they had long been meditating these grand events *in their wisdom*, and that for this purpose they had carried on a correspondence in the armies.

Although terror had at length so far taken possession of the representatives of the people, that many of them no longer dared to sleep at their own homes, I did not cease to indulge some hopes till the very last moment. I even fancied they had only sent for Augereau merely

as a bugbear. I remembered what Reubel had told me at the time of the first journey of that General, when he had brought sixty standards that were taken from the enemy by the Army of Italy, "*He has much the appearance of a violent partizan.*" Said Reubel: "*What a ferocious miscreant!*" To the first part of his remark I readily assented, for his external appearance was that of a Marius, and his ostentation was hardly to be reconciled with republican simplicity or undeviating probity. But it may be presumed that he rather acted as an ambassador with the Directory, than as one of the Generals of the Army of Italy.

The parade he employed on this occasion would not have appeared blame-worthy, had he not, on the one hand, carried it to ridiculous lengths, and on the other, had not his ambitious views been too flagrantly apparent. The gold and the diamonds with which he was covered resembled the spoils of the vanquished, and the rings that loaded each of his fingers, reminded me of those which Annibal took from the Roman knights.

I had an opportunity of seeing him in private at my own house, where he gave me a very high idea of his military talents. He told me it was he alone who directed the affairs of Italy ; that Bonaparte might one day become a good General, but that he was deficient in experience, that he had seen him almost lose his presence of mind in situations of delicacy, that he had extricated him from many dilemmas ; in short, that it was himself who had *done every thing*.

Nor was it to me alone that Angereau spoke with this frankness respecting his own merit. He talked in the same style to all those who would listen to him, and the sycophants who filled their journals with such unbounded eulogiums on Bonaparte, so unworthy of that General's real merit, at the very same time panegyrised, in the most fulsome manner, the man who was claiming, without reserve, all the credit of his successes.

In the month of Fructidor, Augereau was flattered with the expectations of a place in the

Directory, as the reward of his assiduity in causing those to fall whose destruction was resolved on. But in this, not only himself, but all the representatives who were desirous of procuring him that elevation, were the dupes of the Directory. The triumvirs feared him because he would have been too powerful a colleague. He would soon have exclusively enjoyed the popular favour by his revolutionary exaggerations, and his disorganising propositions.

In general, *the more ignorant men are, the more factious they become.* This maxim has been strongly verified in all the national assemblies.

Of the triumvirs, Reubel is the only one who preserves a regular plan, or possesses any real knowledge; but he considers liberty as chimerical, and impossible to be established, and thinks no government can exist but the most absolute despotism. This maxim is his great rule of conduct. Barras is by no means an assuming or conceited man: he knows he can acquire

eminence only by revolutionizing, and he is always ready to revolutionize, no matter in what manner, or with what ultimate effects. In other respects he is highly aristocratical, that is, an enemy of every thing that tends to bring men nearer to equality. Réviellère, tormented with a thirst of fame, and directing all of his conduct to that object, is become a Theophilanthropist, as old women who have once been coquettes become devotees, lest they should be dead to the world ; but, provided that this plan did not succeed, he preferred acting as a tyrant to preserving the reputation of an honest man, with which he entered on his directorial office.

I do not, however, well know on what this character is founded ; perhaps, on the inclination of mankind to be deceived, and to console themselves for the prevailing of evil, by indulging an idea that some pure minds exist in the world ; perhaps on that pity, which a being so unkindly treated by nature, in regard to his person, inspires. But, assuredly, there exists not a greater hypocrite, nor a more immoral man, than Ré-

viellère: and Nature having formed him disgusting to the sight and smell, seems to have designedly cautioned those who approach him against the falsehood and depravity of his heart.

I shall ever remember his anthropophagous grin, when, as President of the Directory, he closed the sitting of the 3d of September which he knew would be the last I should attend. He thought that a few hours after nothing of me would remain but a mangled and bloody carcass. What a hideous spectre he appeared! I fancied I beheld Charles IX. when the tocsin of St. Bartholomew was about to sound, taking leave of those who were presently to be murdered by his own orders. A poignard seemed to leap from every angle of his distorted countenance; his head was inclined upon his shoulders; his eyes, grown almost opaque, looked askance; the flesh on his cheek bones seemed agitated with a convulsive motion, and his half-opened lips protruded forwards, as it were, to meet the expected cup filled with the blood of his victim.

I do not believe it was without design, that the night between the 17th and 18th Fructidor was selected for the accomplishment of this scheme, which the concertors had so long *meditated in their wisdom*. The 17th and 18th Fructidor exactly correspond with the 3d and 4th of September, the epoch of the famous massacres in 1793. Many of those who signalized themselves at the first Septemberization, were also the secret directors of the second, and skilfully made their dates to coincide, the better to identify these two events. They were desirous of having a great number of accomplices, that they might make use of the similitude of the circumstances to divide the power that was concentrated in themselves among a great number of individuals, and thus to prevent the public opinion, which continually harrasses them, from pursuing them exclusively.

It is certain, that these new Septemberizers have identified their cause with the former, who have now pleased them by adducing the same reasons in justification of their conduct, and shel-

tering themselves under the same *salus populi*, and that it is impossible to defend them without exculpating the other. If the latter have not committed massacres, it is because they neither dared, nor had it in their power. They were not sufficiently confident of the success of their enterprize, and knew they should excite too much horror in the people, who had had sufficient time to reflect and profit by the experience of the past. But they exercised their cruelty with superior refinement, and have created an equal number of unfortunate individuals. The persons proscribed in this second Septemberization are victims immolated to the manes of the Duke of Orleans. History will class the infatuated Coryphæi of both under the same general term; it will be considered as one and the same transaction by those who endeavour to trace every event to its true cause.

Many of the representatives were not aware of the infamous part they were made to act—which was precisely the same that the National Convention was obliged to perform, when Tallien, in the

name of the Commune, came to announce, that France was about to be delivered from her enemies, and the prisons to be cleared by a universal massacre. The first Septemberizers had a great source of enjoyment in seeing the number of their associates and partizans increased by the accession of those very men whom, till then, they had, at least in appearance, pretended to shun. They were desirous, that, in honour of the immortal triumph of Fructidor, monuments should be erected to them, and festivals celebrated on their account, which in their orgies and secret councils they would have referred at once, to the events of 1793, and those of 1797. Probably this secret has escaped them, and this is the reason they have adjourned the execution of their intentions till a more *favourable opportunity*.

Bonaparte, deceived by false reports, irritated by the unjust calumnies continually uttered against him, at length departed from the line which his natural penetration had pointed out to him. Latterly I saw one of his aids de camp,

named La Valette, whom he had himself introduced to me in one of his letters. This officer came to Paris to inform Bonaparte of the situation of affairs; I had several interviews with him, in the course of which I communicated the whole system I was pursuing. He told me, that Bonaparte had formed a very just idea on the subject, and assured me, that General viewed things exactly in the same light as myself; but that he complained of my not having written for some time to him. I replied, that my only motive was, that Bonaparte seemed no longer to have the same confidence in me, and that I conceived he had, at length, partly believed the lies propagated relative to me, by the newspapers, especially by those which undertook to prove that I was his enemy. I added, that I would write to him with openness of heart, by the first courier that should be dispatched.

Sometime after this, and I believe six days previous to the 4th of September, La Valette came and said to me, "You may be perfectly at ease with regard to the cloud you conceived

to have arisen in the mind of Bonaparte relative to yourself; I have a letter from him, saying, that he has written to you by the same courier, that you may rely on his highest esteem, and his warmest affection; and that he considers political events precisely in the same point of view as yourself." I expressed to Valette my great pleasure at what he communicated, "but," said I, "the letter has not been delivered." He appeared prodigiously astonished, and I never entertained a moment's doubt but that the little hypocritical Réveillère, who was then President, had intercepted it, and that it was kept back by this trio so full of *fidelity* and honour.

I was so convinced that it was impossible Bonaparte should have contributed to my proscription, that when, on his way to Rastadt, he passed through a small town where I happened to be for a short time, I was on the point of writing to him to ask for a momentary interview, and only waved my intention because I was afraid of placing the General himself in a delicate situation; for it never occurred to my mind

to harbour the slightest doubt of his sincerity and generosity. But I suffered him to pass, and illuminated my windows in common with all the other citizens, abandoning myself to my reflections, which were far from being of a melancholy nature, on the vicissitudes of human life.

I rejoiced some days after at the conduct I had pursued, when I was informed, that in his passage through Geneva, Bonaparte had arrested a banker named Bontems, merely because he was suspected of having brought me from Paris to that place, after the event of the 4th of September, in order to save me from the pursuit of the Directory, who had sent out whole battallions of troops, accompanied with artillery, to discover me in the vicinity of Paris. This suspicion had no foundation. In fact, I had never seen Bontems at Paris, nor was it to him that I was indebted for conveying me beyond the frontiers. That unfortunate man, however, remained some months in prison. Such is the story, as it was related to me by several persons who came from Geneva, and who have heard

it from his own mouth, when, he added, Bonaparte flew into a violent passion, and uttered the severest menaces.

Bonaparte was desirous of peace, but the Directory were averse to it; and it would have been concluded five months sooner, had they been willing to make it on the conditions which they ultimately accepted, merely because they perceived, that the best argument that could be urged to the people, in favour of the 4th of September, was that of its having accelerated a peace. Hence, they pretended, when the treaty was at length concluded, that it was the other members of the Directory who had hitherto constantly refused their assent; and that, on the contrary, they had eagerly endeavoured to procure that blessing for their country the moment they were relieved from their shackles. It may be seen in their subsequent conduct, whether in this pretended desire of peace they were really sincere.

Of all the modifications of treaties they had in their power to adopt they have chosen the very worst; and it appears I was mistaking in saying, these *Republican Directors* were desirous of oppressing the Emperor. Far, very far, was the Emperor from being oppressed. The Preliminaries of Leoben, which could immediately be converted into a definitive treaty, would have been far better without the smallest alterations in them. The cession of Mantua was stipulated for that of Venice, and Venice is surely a place of more importance than Mantua. Bonaparte had written, that Mantua might be replaced, as far as regarded the security of the Cisalpine Republic, by Pizzighitone, and that the latter had several advantages over the former. But the Directory determined to keep Mantua, although, by the Preliminaries of Leoben, it was stipulated, that it should be given up; and this was the only object that prevented the peace from being concluded.

As I was desirous, however, that peace should be speedily concluded; and as I perceived their

obstinate determination to keep Mantua ; I proposed, one day, a mode, which at the worst we might adopt,—to give up Venice in its stead ! and, to that effect, I had even prepared a letter to Bonaparte ; but they cried out, that it would be better to give up Mantua than Venice. Here they were right, and I had only proposed to give up the latter because I perceived they were obstinately resolved to keep the former ; yet it was Venice they ultimately gave up. The letter I had written was thrown into the fire ; but by a singular coincidence, Bonaparte had formed the same idea with myself, and the next day or the day after we received dispatches from him proposing to substitute Venice for Mantua in the Preliminaries of Leoben, adding, that with this condition peace would be speedily concluded. They had rejected this proposal when it came from me, and they equally rejected it from Bonaparte. In a word, their wish was to keep both Mantua and Venice, and, in case the Emperor would not acquiesce in this point, to resume their arms immediately ; such were the conditions on which they con-

tinued disputing five months, and at their expiration chose the worst of the two alternatives.

The hatred some of the members of the Directory bore me, especially Barras, took its rise from events long anterior to the period when it broke out. Barras belonged to a faction which I always held in abhorrence, the faction which attempted to place Orleans on the throne, which, having failed in that design, began to intrigue for themselves, and at length divided into subordinate parties; the one under Danton, at the Cordeliers, the other under Robespierre, at the Jacobins, and the Commune of Paris: in a word, he belonged to that faction, which, though at first so opposite to the republican system, afterwards carried those principles to the utmost extreme of enthusiasm, when they perceived that they could by these means place themselves at the head of the Republic.

I was equally the enemy of the Cordeliers, and of the Jacobins, and never could be induced to enter either of their dens. Though I had

an equal aversion to Danton and Robespierre, yet, as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, I was supposed to be a partizan of the latter, through its not being known perhaps that, in that committee I incessantly reproached him with his cruelties and his tyranny.

Barras was of the faction of Danton, as were the greater part of those who have been called Thermidorians by way of distinction, but who on the 9th Thermidor (July 27th), independently of the danger that threatened them, and which it was urgently necessary to oppose, were much less intent on destroying one tyrant than on avenging another, and re-establishing the tyranny of the former in their own hands. And who were these pretended avengers of humanity? They were, in general, the same men who had deluged Paris, Bordeaux, and Marseilles, with blood!

The great crime of which, in their eyes, I was guilty, was that of having signed the arrest of Danton; and yet it was a fact,

though very little known, that, at the Committee of Public Safety, I opposed that measure; not but that I considered this chief of the Septemberizers as deserving the execration of mankind, but from the motives I stated to the members of the committee, to whom I said: "You are no doubt powerful enough to have those, whom you may think proper to mark out, put to death; but if you once open the road that leads the representatives of the people to the scaffold we shall all successively tread the same path." The signatures, as I explained to the Convention, did not prove any thing relative to the opinions of those individuals who signed them, but merely that such resolutions had passed the committee, in the same manner as the signatures of the President and Secretaries of the Legislative Body, or of the Directory, certify, that such and such laws or resolutions have been passed, not that they received the assent or concurrence of those individuals. They were by no means signatures of confidence, as they have been called, but signatures of forms prescribed by law.

All the world knew this to be the fact, and those who were my persecutors had been a thousand times themselves examples of similar signatures; but they collected all the acts signed by me, whether as member of the Committee, or as a representative in the numerous missions to which I had been appointed, almost without interruption during eight months; but being unable in all these documents to find the slightest ground of accusation, it became necessary to attribute to me the crimes of other men; and, in lieu of considering as acts of enthusiasm what I had done while defending the accused members of the committee, to put a stop to the carnage of the representatives of the people, they accused me of it as of an additional crime. I was indebted for my preservation to the courage of a few virtuous men who were beyond suspicion, and who at length, venturing boldly to undertake my defence, forced those miscreants to let go their prey.

But they only deferred the period of their vengeance to a more favourable opportunity. I had had the good fortune at the committee, to contribute to the extrication of the Republic from its danger by repelling its enemies; and the only recompence I obtained was a horrid persecution. When in the Directory, I contributed to extricate it from new dangers, wherein these same villains, then acting as factious *reactionaries*, had plunged it; and the recompence was my Fructidorian proscription. I well knew that Republics were ungrateful, but I did not yet know that the individuals who call themselves republicans were guilty of such base ingratitude as I have since experienced.

If any one deserved to be exiled for having given rise to *reaction*, certainly that reward is due to those infamous characters, who, through their persecutions of the present republicans, and by confounding the innocent with the guilty, while they themselves were covered with crimes, brought about the events of the

13th Vendemiaire. But it is the privilege of these men always to cause the punishment of their own crimes to fall on the heads of their enemies. Thus, after having seduced and misled the Parisians by their counter-revolutionary manœuvres; when they perceived that they were themselves about to become the victims of their own infernal policy, they massacred them with their artillery to punish them for their credulity. I was then an absolute nullity in the Republic. I rejoined the Legislative Body on the 13th Vendemiaire, to perish together with them if it was necessary; but I was absolutely destitute of any share in all those transactions.

I have more than once heard Barras express his grief and concern, that there were not enough individuals killed in Vendemiaire; and Reubel, who was precisely of the same opinion, proposing one day, when we were in a state of great pecuniary distress, to levy a forced contribution of sixty millions of livres on Paris within four-and-twenty-hours: "You mean, then," cried I,

“ that terror and death should again be the order of the day :”—“ I wish they were so already,” replied Reubel: “ I never saw but one fault in Robespierre, that of being too mild.” And Barras repeated his favourite maxim (that maxim with which Germain has since, in other terms, reproached him) “ We should not be in this condition if the Parisians had been more severely chastised in Vendemiaire.”

Sieyès having refused the office of director, at the period when every thing was in so desperate a situation that the Directory had a difficulty to find domestics willing to enter into their precarious service, the councils turned their eyes towards me. A rumour to this effect having spread abroad, the Directory sent for me, Sieyès, and Merlin, to attend them. We all three attended them together. They offered to Merlin, the office of Minister of Justice; to Sieyès, that of Foreign Affairs; and to me, that of the War Department. Merlin accepted the proposal, but Sieyès and myself refused. I could scarcely conceive how a set of men (among whom I knew

I had, at least two mortal enemies) would offer me a place of such distinguished eminence ; and I have no doubt but their object was, to prevent me from being placed in the Directory: it was principally that I might re-establish the affairs of the war, that the legislative body were desirous of promoting me to that office ; and had I accepted the office of minister, the object would have been apparently answered. A few days after, they would have displaced me from that very office, and would, perhaps, at the same time have accused me of the ill-successes which were then very probable, immediately to ensue.

On my refusal, they named Aubert-Dubayet ; and it is to be observed, that it was on me that the blame of the incapacity of that minister was afterwards thrown ; and it was in the newspapers, in the pay of Barras, that the accusation appeared. Though Aubert-Dubayet was full of intelligence, and of courage, he himself felt that he was not qualified for the office he filled ; and he was incessantly conjuring me to relieve him from this heavy burden.

At the outset of their administration, the Directory were surrounded with the greatest difficulties; yet, good fortune, and the zealous assiduity and co-operation of the Constituted Authorities, who were united by the common danger, soon restored their strength: the war in Vendée was terminated; the armies resumed their original enthusiasm; the paper circulation disappeared; the free circulation of the necessities of life, arising from the exertions of the minister, Benezec, restored plenty to the people; and only one real cause of inquietude remained, arising from the party of the Anarchists who were boldly conspiring, at the club of the Pantheon, daily challenging the massacre of the legislative body, and of the Directory, and resolving, by every species of crimes, to re-establish the constitution of 1793.

I know not on what ground it had been imagined, that I should espouse the party of the Anarchists. All those who had any personal knowledge of me, all those who had observed my conduct at the Convention and in the missions

I had discharged, could not entertain the slightest doubt that I was their mortal enemy.

Neither is my appearance that of a desperate Revolutionist. I have known people who, from the description of me in the newspapers, expressed the greatest surprise on seeing me, and would scarcely believe that I was that terrible member of the Committee of Public Safety, that associate of Robespierre. Others, who knew me before the revolution a careless, solitary, absent being, and full of thought; in short, a kind of philosopher, or rather an original, would still less believe that I had now become a courtier and a friend of kings, or that I, having participated in the glory of founding the most majestic of republics, could afterwards amuse myself with destroying it. Such inconsistencies were reserved for the sublime members of the Executive Directory, that is, for the very men who best knew the contrary.

Be this as it may, the Directory could then discover no other means of safety than shutting

up the Club of the Pantheon, which Bonaparte, who commanded the 1st Military Division, was appointed to execute that very night.

But the Anarchists were not to be discouraged. Every day some new attempt was made by them ; but they were only dispersed, and no one marked out for punishment. Their impunity increased their courage ; with them we were in the same situation as an antagonist in a duel who only parries the weapon of his adversary, without attempting to wound him in his turn. However unskilful this adversary may be, he is certain at length to kill his enemy. Thus likewise would the Republic infallibly have sunk, had not Babœuf and his accomplices been arrested ; a measure which struck terror into the hearts of these miscreants, and effected their dispersion.

This reminds me of a remarkable anecdote. One of those men, whom it is attempted to involve in all the schemes and plots which so rapidly succeed each other for the destruction of

the Government, waited on me one morning after the arrest of Babœuf. He was a shoemaker, and explained to me the manner in which these intrigues were carried on by the journeymen of his trade. I ordered some breakfast for him, and made him talk freely of every thing he knew, and among other curious observations, "*My God,*" said he, "*Citizen Carnot, how much I was astonished at what you have done against Babœuf, I thought you a Brutus.*" All in good time, replied I. From this I perceived that this class of society had been purposely filled with such wild ideas, that with them every constitution, every law, and every government whatever, appeared an invasion of liberty, every man in office a tyrant, and every one who proposed to kill them, especially if he undertook the office himself, as a Brutus.

The Directory did not without jealousy observe that the man whom they had taken such pains to represent as the protector of anarchy was the very person who had given it so severe a blow. But they were still more irritated against me afterwards, when they found it convenient to make

me pass for a Royalist for having arrested Duran, Brottier, and Lavilleheurnois. Certainly those were not deserving to be called *stupid*, who invented the story, that I was the accomplice of the agents of Louis XVIII.; I, who had so long been tracking them out, and had ultimately caused them to be arrested and brought to trial, while the *republican directors* suffered these same agents to be acting almost under their own eyes, without harbouring the least suspicion of them.

This conspiracy, however, of the agents of Louis XVIII. was by no means a matter of small importance. *Their trial*, says Bailleul, *had brought every thing to light*. This is an important confession. It was I, then, who arrested the very persons that brought every thing to light. But have they brought to light, honest Bailleul, that I was their accomplice? From my having arrested both Duverne and Babœuf, it might perhaps be inferred that I was equally the enemy of royalty and of anarchy. They argued, however, on wiser grounds: because I arrested

Duverne, I was the accomplice of Babœuf; and because I arrested Babœuf, I was the accomplice of Duverne: but those who arrested no man, were the accomplices of no man; those who suffer every faction to continue, belong to no faction; those who proscribe republicans that are free from reproach, are the true patriots; those who tear the social compact, are the firm supporters of the constitution; those who enslave the people, are the best friends of liberty; those who carry on wars of extermination, are the sincere lovers of peace; and those who bring about Fructidorian Revolutions, are the saviours of their country! *We do not seek to prove the existence of light.*

Cochon and Malo contributed as much and more than myself, to detect and defeat the agents of Louis XVIII. But Louis XVIII. has been amply revenged by the *republican directors*, who have proscribed both Cochon and Malo. The worthy, the virtuous, Minister, Cochon, a thousand times more active, more courageous, more republican, than all our *repub-*

lican directors, was the man who discovered to the Directory the whole history of the *coterie des fils légitimes* with which Bailleul has decorated his report. All the details he has given are borrowed from the papers seized by the agents of Cochon.

If, however, we listen to Bailleul, it was to their own penetration that the Directory was indebted for all those discoveries. No, Bailleul, the penetration of the Directory discovers only imaginary conspiracies; they can find no real plots; but in revenge those they discover *in their wisdom* are so clear, that it would be *feebly to apprehend* their intentions to ask for proofs! What does it signify who perish in a great convulsion, whether they are the innocent or the guilty? Have they not, in all events, accomplished their object; have they not destroyed their enemies; are they not possessed of the dictatorship? I have already observed, that it was the peculiar talent of the Orleans faction (the remains of which are now intriguing for themselves, and are the true

authors of the Fructidorian revolution) to appropriate to themselves the fruits of the labours of others, and then to cause the punishment of their own crimes to fall upon their heads.

It was the alarming conspiracy of Babœuf, and the imminent danger incurred by the public weal through the dissolution of the *Legion de Police* (a danger which few were able fully to appreciate), that at length convinced me of the necessity of displacing, from every office of trust, that crowd of immoral and incorrigible beings, who spread disorder, discontent, and terror, into every corner of the Republic. To the appointment of some of these I had myself at first contributed; not to the nomination of those whom I considered as unprincipled villains, but only of those whose minds were inflamed with enthusiasm: and this I did as much with a view to diminish the mass of these inflammable elements at Paris, as with a hope of seeing men, who had been misled, return to the principles of moderation, and sincerely abjure a system which had been the

cause of so many evils. But I soon perceived that, although some of them faithfully returned to the good path, the majority endeavoured to employ the advantages they had obtained to throw every thing into confusion.

It was at that period, too, that I began to perceive strong oppositions in the Directory.—Reubel was constantly the protector of men accused of plunder and dilapidation, Barras of attainted and ruined nobles, and Réveillière of unprincipled priests. Whenever a deputation from any of the departments solicited the place of Commissary or Receiver, for any particular individual whose character, probity, and abilities they warranted, they began to calculate the number of votes; and if there were eight or nine deputies for granting the request, and one or two for its rejection, it was negatived without farther examination; because they had laid it down as a maxim, that the majority of the Councils were royalists.

Reubel very often expressly declared this proposition as certain. He had memorandums relative to almost every member of the legislative body ; he collected all he could learn concerning them, no matter from what quarter, which he carefully laid by and arranged in the pigeon-holes of his bureau : and thus he was furnished with a magazine, by which he could involve in whatever conspiracy he pleased, all those representatives of whom he wished to rid himself. I here forewarn Jourdan that there are some of these memorandums particularly directed against him ; I have heard Reubel positively declare that Jourdan was a traitor. This man was the principal cause of his disgust, and obliged him to ask leave to retire.

Most of the other celebrated generals of the Republic were equally noted down by him as traitors. Kleber, in particular, was the object of his declared hatred. Yet that General has since resumed his post ; because, no doubt, they took advantage of the opportunity to persuade

him that I was the author of his disgrace ; whereas, on the contrary, it was I who (though unable to prevent it) endeavoured to soften it as much as possible, by a letter which I wrote in the name of the Directory, expressive of their regret at losing an officer of such distinguished merit. I am convinced the Directory would not have suffered this letter to be sent to him, had they read it ; but they signed it *confidentially*. In short, with regard to every man of eminence in the Republic, in any way whatever, I never heard any language so conformable to that of Robespierre, as that of Reubel ; nor did I ever perceive so constant a desire to annihilate every one who had acquired reputation by his superior merit.

He appears fully convinced that probity and civism are absolutely incompatible. He cannot conceive how a man of unblemished character can have been induced to take a part in the revolution. One day, when I made some remarks on the undisguised extravagance of Merlin of Thionville, after the time of the famous

surrender of Mentz, where he was sent, together with Reubel, a representative of the people, although this same Merlin had declared at the Convention that he had no property but his salary as deputy, Reubel instantly changed colour; yet no man is in general so well able to command his features. Some days after he said, as if without design, "that Merlin of Thionville is a rascal, and I have told him as much; for he spends twenty-five louis a-day at the Mount Calvary. I have long been his friend, because I thought him an honest man, but now I have broken with him." In fact, however, he has not broken with him at all, and has never ceased to maintain the most intimate connection with him.

In Reubel the thirst of gold is insatiable. At the time when lots were drawn to determine which of the directors should go out, his sight was so confused when he opened the fatal ticket, that although it was in his favour, he read that it was against him, and the words, *It is I*, escaped him, making at the same time a motion

of his body expressive of his concern. These words I heard with perfect distinctness, because I stood close to him, and have often joked him on the subject ; nor did he deny this fact.

As to Barras, I have already said that he was the protector of the nobles ; and this is not the less true for his apparently declaiming against them. He secretly endeavours to procure the re-admission of the titled emigrants, and has always some marquis or knight to propose for every vacant place ; but then they are always marquisses or knights who despised the advantages of their birth even under the old government. It is certain that Barras is an Aristocrat, and that the name of patriot, which is constantly in his mouth, is with him but a means of acquiring influence and power.

After the affair of Grenelle, Barras being publicly accused of not coming forward in the defence of the Directorial Palace, caused it to be inserted in some of the journals, that he had appeared on that occasion, and thus left

the truth quite uncertain, that he might be able afterwards to assert or deny it as might best suit his purpose. The fact is, that neither he, Reubel, nor Réveillère, made their appearance. Afterwards, however, they pursued this affair with much more warmth than I, who have always been of opinion that no influence ought to be exercised over the tribunals, when taking cognizance of any affair whatever. Réveillère, to whom I went myself to apprise him of the danger, as soon as I was informed that the insurgents were marching to the Directorial Palace, and were within a stone's throw of the gates, said "that he would leave the business to Le Tourneur, and myself, who were military men."—When the insurgents knew that we were prepared for them they changed their route, and went to the camp of Grenelle. Barras and Reubel excused themselves the next day, by saying they were out of town, because they were not apprised of what was passing. But I am of opinion they were out of town because they *were* apprised of it.

Thus they pursued the system they uniformly adopt, of letting other men act in all cases of danger, and then attributing the success to themselves, or throwing the blame on others. When several persons came, on the following day, to give us an account of what they had witnessed of them, one told us that Tallien, and several others of the Orleans faction, had been waiting on the banks of the river to see the result of the attack of the Camp of Grenelle, and that as soon as they learnt that it had failed, they dispersed and took flight. Barras, who lived in habits of intimacy with Tallien, thought it might be better for him to separate their apparent interests, and therefore began to abuse and calumniate his friend. He said, "that if there were five hundred conspiracies, Tallien would be concerned in them all."

These two execrable men were united, not by the bonds of true friendship, of which upright hearts alone are capable, but by an emulation in cruelty. They had equally practised the most atrocious barbarity; they had equally bathed

themselves in human blood—the one at Mar-
seilles, the other at Bordeaux. To defend myself,
in case of need, against the intrigues of their fac-
tion, when they prosecuted me with so much fury,
I had extracted some parts of their letters to the
Committees of Public Safety during their missions.
It is impossible to conceive any thing more ter-
rible than these writings. All that has been yet
published relative to them, gives but a feeble
idea of the horrid language which I literally
extracted from their correspondence. This
curious correspondence has fallen into the hands
of the guilty. It was among the papers which
were taken from me.

I well know that the regret which the trium-
virs felt, at having failed in their design to have
me assassinated on the night of the 17th of Fruc-
tidor, arose from a hope, that by my death
they would have prevented the exposure of their
crimes.—A body of assassins had been posted at
a back gate of my garden, whom the guard of
the Directory, by my orders, commanded to re-
tire, and they obeyed when they found that they

were discovered. A few minutes previous to the departure of the detachment, who were appointed to arrest me, an aid de camp was dispatched to know if I was still at my house ; where I certainly was, and quitted it but at the moment when the guard entered the apartments. The Luxembourg was, as it were, invested by a large body of troops, supported by artillery ; but I deceived the vigilance of the assassins, by availing myself of a secret passage of which they were ignorant. I heard the discharge of the alarm gun, just as I had shut the last door through which I was to pass ; and, with a pistol in each hand, I wandered for three hours about the city, and took my way through bye streets, in order to avoid the detachments of soldiers which had been augmented on that occasion, and that I might, at length, reach the asylum where I fled for safety. Reubel could not express the violence of his anger at the officer who carried the order of arrest ; and Barras was so inconceivably base, as to accompany the soldiers who were ordered to seize the feeble Barthelemy.

On the 19th, when the council excepted from the proscription certain representatives, and among others Doulcet, the Directory addressed a very insolent message to the Council on that occasion, who, recovered from its first impressions of terror, refused to change its determination. This message is well known. It was then the opinion of Réveillère, that Doulcet should be assassinated. To say the truth, give that man but an opportunity to do any thing, and he will soon find the means of doing it.

At length, they celebrated their immortal labours by public rejoicings, in which nothing was wanting to complete their festivity but to drink their intoxicating beverage out of the skulls of their enemies. At Rome, no triumph was ever known to grace the victories that arose out of civil discord. They were events which the Roman citizens contemplated with sorrow and mourning.

The pen drops from my hand, in writing this affecting narrative; and in reflecting

on the monsters to whom France is abandoned. These misfortunes, great as they may be, are not, however, of a nature to make the friends of liberty despair, nor to prevent the legislators from preparing for their fellow citizens the means of future prosperity. Above all things they ought to give their attention to the restoration of the finances, and the stability of the laws. Every one feels the absolute necessity of forming instant regulations for the first, and, it is time, that a due regard should be paid to the second; the rights of property also should no longer be uncertain! A secure possession can alone make agriculture flourish; attach the citizens, by the tranquil enjoyment of their property, to the country which protects them, and cause the love of the Republic to become the sovereign passion of every breast.

In the same manner, when the obligations annexed to the state of every citizen are reduced to a small number of fixed and simple duties, every one will conform to them with pleasure, from the readiness with which he

comprehends them; and rearing his children in the practice of them, will insensibly form to himself a system of public morals, which, identifying itself with the existence of the nation, will fix its character, and secure its duration. Hence it is, that all the great legislators have discovered less inconvenience in an imperfect but fixed code of laws, than in more perfect systems, which, from the circumstances around them, are liable to change. The best government is that which is obeyed from habit and education, and not from the influence of varying institutions: in one word, that in which those who govern have the least to do; as that clock is the best, which requires the least attention from the artizan. But the grand error, of the greater part of those who are placed at the head of public affairs, is, a very general opinion, that they would be of no use, whatever, in their stations; and that the business of the state would not proceed, if, on every occasion, and at every moment, their influence and interference was not perceived or felt; Universal delegation, and a calm promulgation of the

laws, are the most certain means of rendering a people contented, and preventing revolutions.

Allow every thing which can be allowed, without dissolving the bonds of society, or giving up all pretensions to freedom; such an arrangement will perhaps beget, in the beginning, a tendency to disorder; but, in a short time, and by degrees, every one will take his natural position, and the social body will become more compact and united; because you will have substituted the ties of nature for those of law. This is a doctrine which despots cannot comprehend; and they are so successful in propagating their errors, that those who wish to see liberty established in its greatest latitude are precisely those who are distinguished by the titles of aristocrats and royalists. The Gothic King Theodoric was, in this particular, far less a Goth than our republican directors.

It is said, that France is more tranquil than it was before Fructidor. It may be so, but if we suppose for a moment, that the triumvirs

govern with as much success as Octavius, after he was Emperor, or Cromwell when he was Protector, would they be less the oppressors of their country! They might be compared to the hunter, who having taken a wild elephant endeavours by kind treatment to reconcile him to the slavery to which his future life is devoted.

The usurpation of power cannot be justified even by the best employment of it; otherwise, any one who should suppose himself more capable of governing than another would have a right to destroy him, and assume his place, as well as to substitute his will as superior to laws and tribunals, from the imperfection of the one, the delays of the other, and the abuses inseparable from all human institutions. And as a concentrated power appears to possess a greater degree of strength, and more rapid execution, than that which is derived from a Constitution; the government of an usurper will wear, for some time, the semblance of superior advantage, though in fact, it is nothing more than the prelude of lasting slavery.

If it were necessary to examine whether, in what relates to the administration of public affairs, the consequences of the 18th Fructidor have been beneficial, it would be very easy to prove the contrary. It would be very easy to make it appear, that a system of dissipation and waste has prevailed, instead of a system of economy and reformation; and that to give some degree of eclat to public measures, those resources which had been accumulated with so much care have been most extravagantly consumed. The Directory has ostentatiously reaped the fruits which others had sown, and has itself planted brambles for its successors. I am persuaded that, without engaging in war with any of the great Powers, our armies will find themselves reduced at the end of the campaign to one half, both as to their numbers and equipments; while the great Powers, on the contrary, have availed themselves of the opportunity to recruit their forces. The embarrassed state of the finances is still greater, notwithstanding the increase of contributions, the large sums which have been drawn from foreign countries, and

the suppression of payments at home. The commercial speculations, which were in such a state of activity before Fructidor, are annihilated; instead of a general peace, which might have been concluded, every channel of honourable accommodation has been shut up, by swearing to proceed in a war of extermination with the English nation; in rushing into a whirlpool of political circumstances, which may engender new coalitions against France, raise up new enemies in different parts of the world, and may throw a doubt upon the political character of the Republic, which had been so honourably acknowledged by every power. No excuse can be found for continually, and without the least necessity, risking the strength of our country, as at a game of chance, though we should be always successful. He who should vest his whole fortune in a lottery must be considered as an idiot, and I should not consider him with more favour, though he should be a gainer in the weak and hazardous enterprize; especially if he were to continue his folly; but if this fortune should not be his own, and that

he should possess nothing more than the administration of it; and if instead of increasing it gradually by prudent means, and employing its revenues for urgent necessities, he should expend it at the gaming table, I should then accuse him not only of folly, but breach of confidence, and treason.

With respect to the observation which has been already made, that France is said to be more tranquil than it was before Fructidor, it becomes us to consider what is the nature of that tranquillity: Does it arise from stupor or security? Is it the repose of a spring in a state of compression, or free to move? Is it the silence of citizens who never know whether they are the objects of love or hatred, submitted as they are to the authority which is superior to laws?—or that calm in which the heart is disposed to dilate, from a consciousness that it is protected by the laws against the caprices of arbitrary power. With respect to the tranquillity produced by oppression, we know it to be the natural effect of despotic government, which is always

more tranquil than that of a republic. Athens is at this day in a more peaceable state, than in the time of Themistocles. Rome enjoyed a greater degree of quiet under the Tarquins, and under Sylla, than at the first establishment of the tribunes. There is more tranquillity in a dungeon, than in a public square. But is France more happy now, than she was before Fructidor. I declare the reverse. But should I be mistaken, the people must be happier under a despotic government (for that of the Directory is more despotic than any which has hitherto existed), than under that of a republic. This, however, is the system of Reubel and of all the Royalists. They only differ respecting the nature of the monarchy; the latter wish it to be hereditary, while Reubel is anxious that it should be elective, provided that the choice should fall upon himself.

We are compelled, therefore, for the honour even of the Republic, to believe that the people now suffer more than they suffered before Fructidor: but every citizen is obliged to concen-

trate his grief; and since the liberty of the press has been destroyed, no means are possessed of giving vent to it. Nay, if he dares to make his complaints known in his district, he would be instantly dragged before the agents of the executive power, loaded with irons, and abandoned or put to death, as a counter-revolutionist. If he should be bold enough but to claim, even in a whisper, his rights as a *republican*, he would be proscribed as a *royalist*. In a free country, the suffering is small and the outcry great, while, on the contrary, under a tyrannical government, the sufferings are great and the complaints are slender. Such is the difference between the epoch which preceded the 18th Fructidor, and that which has followed it.

Before Fructidor the public agitation was extreme, because a division had taken place between the two higher constituted authorities. Such are the storms which must be expected in democratic governments. There were two modes, however, of tranquillizing this agitation which presented themselves: that of concilia-

tion, by the sentiment of patriotifm and a fenfe of common danger, which would not intrude upon their refpective powers, was fited to the republican fyftem, and eftablifhed confidence in the focial compact. 2dly, The other was, that one of thefe authorities fhould crufh the other; and this the Executive Directory, which had the power in its hand, thought proper to adopt.— It not only refufed to attempt the firft mode of fettling the exifting differences, but manifested an unfurmoutable reluctance, and repelled with fcorn every advance that was made on the occafion. And what has been the refult of fuch a conduct? A monarchy vefted in five perfons. Nor can we fail to remark, that the men who have formed this monarchical fyftem, the new monarchs themfelves, as well as thofe who did not blufh to be their humble agents, who called themfelves *republicans*, are the very perfons who have denominated others *royalifts*, and under that character have proferibed and banifhed them.

Thus it has been, and thus it will ever be when fimilar circumftances happen in the world.

It would be too dangerous to tell the people, that they are about to be deprived of their liberty ; and it has ever been the policy of tyrants, to assure them that they would break their chains asunder, at the very moment when they were about to add to the weight of them.—Octavius would not abolish the name of republic. England was denominated a republic under the oppression of Cromwell ; and never was the title of republic so fearfully respected in France as under the revolutionary government. At this moment, not only in France, but in Switzerland, in Holland, at Rome, Genoa, and Milan, nay, in every part of Europe where the Directory governs openly or secretly, by its proconsuls and armies, is not every one compelled, from fear, to affirm that he is free?—The time may be approaching, when men, while they are roasting alive, shall be compelled to declare *how happy they are* ; like the savages, who glory in partaking of, and even surpassing, the joy of those who are mangling their bodies, as a preparation for eating them.

And who are they whom we must consider as the real friends of royalty, if they are not those who force us to regret the departure of it by their own tyranny? And who are the decided enemies of the republican government, but those who strive to render it odious?—Since words alone are of no value, it is experimental happiness which the people require. If they are wretched in a republic, they will demand a monarchy.—If they are made to believe that a republic offers nothing but a perpetual state of self-denial; that it is a government where justice is administered by cannon-balls, and where it is dispensed with when any one cuts the throat of a royalist; where fear is the universal principle of action; where natural affections are weaknesses, and the prejudices of education are considered as crimes; where decorum and good faith are ridiculous, and a wish for tranquillity a breach of public duty; where liberty consists in a right to oppress, and the character of the government is violent and arbitrary; I say, if such a description of a republic

is offered to the people,—they will demand a monarchy.

Such, alas, is the false but miserable opinion which the greater part of the French nation have been brought to adopt.—Examine then, particularly in the country, and you will now discover that each of them has quietly formed a distinct and two-fold arrangement of his fellow-citizens. In one of these classes, he places those who are gentle in their manners, of peaceable disposition, very susceptible of alarm, but regular in their lives, and supporters of good order, and these he will describe as Aristocrats. In the other—he arranges all those whose qualities appear to be insensibility, effrontery, luxuriousness, calumny, and impiety; and he names them Patriots.—Such will be almost universally the consequence of such an examination.

He revolts within himself at the idea of a Republic; but it is because he is deceived; it is because, in the republic which is offered to his adoption, he beholds all the vices of monar-

chy : and thus forming an opinion of the latter, diametrically opposite to its real character, he attributes to it all the advantages which belong only to the former. Hence it is that the people, who are naturally republicans, appear to long for monarchy, when they are only agitated with the desire of improving their situation, and of enjoying the benefits which the republican compact had promised them. It will ever prove a fruitless attempt to tear from our nature that instinct, by which man perceives that he has a principle of reciprocal benevolence within him that is pre-existent to all human institutions, by which he sympathizes in the happiness and misery of his fellow-creatures. He is sensible that if this principle, which is the law of nature, ceases to exist, society itself would be instantly dissolved, or would possess but a precarious being under the terror of despotism ; he perceives that all the positive laws must re-unite themselves to this basis as to their natural root ; that their genuine object is to augment the inherent disposition and efficacy of this principle, and to complete, with a bolder line, that happy

sketch of nature, under the sanction of customs and usages. The legislator, who loses sight of this object, commits every thing to chance, and runs counter to his principal design when, instead of enforcing, he weakens this principle, and substitutes in its place a system of fallacious independence and egoism ; for egoism is a leading principle in political division, in sovereignty, and monarchical power ; while reciprocal benevolence is, on the contrary, the basis of that national equality which forms the simple foundation of liberty, which secures the property of every individual by the protection of all the rest, and is, in one word, the genuine principle of a Republic.

There never was a king who made such an ostentatious and tyrannical display of kingly power as each of our republican directors ; never did any monarch equal them in watching the most trifling actions of his subjects. Never did the former monarchs of France treat their parliaments with the contempt which the Directory have manifested to the legislative bodies.

Cromwell himself did not reduce the Parliament of England to similar ignominy. The national representation could not be reduced to a more abject state than that of being converted, under the cannon of the Directory, into a revolutionary tribunal. What is become of the solemn engagements entered into by the representatives of the people? Where is the man who will hereafter dare to exert himself in defending the rights of these very people, and will have the courage to condemn those who waste the contributions raised by their own arbitrary exactions? Where is the man who will venture to oppose himself to those who make peace or war without his participation; who at midnight violate the asylum of the peaceful citizen, and send him to Cayenne, which is become the seat of those bastilles that have been established by the Republic? If there should be a man possessed of a degree of courage equal to such a conduct, let me ask, whether he would not be involved in the first conspiracy which the directors may find essential to the execution of their grand projects? But

to be reduced to applaud such a scene of baseness, is to sink into a state of ignominy that is scarce exceeded by the vile courtier, who, when the tyrant of Asia had pierced the heart of his son with an arrow, compared the skill of the royal assassin to that of Apollo.

If I had consented to sit upon the same throne with the republican directors, they would not have denounced me as a royalist; if I had joined them in dragging the national representation through the dirt, they would have considered me as a distinguished patriot; if I had been an accomplice in their crimes, they would have permitted me to share in their boasted innocence: but I defy them, and I challenge all those, who have pronounced my condemnation, to bring home to me any expression, writing, or act, whatever, since the commencement of the Revolution, which is not altogether consistent with the genuine principles of moderation, of justice, and an ardent love of my country. How many are there among them who can, from their hearts, make the

same boast, and challenge the same examination? — and, nevertheless, who has been more exposed, than myself, to situations of difficulty and danger? I have been successively exposed to every faction, because I have never ceased to oppose them. I have been reviled by the venal writers of every party, but without one proof to support their calumnies; but those men, who employ their talents in defamation at so much per page, are ready to serve the republican or the royal cause, as either may demand their assistance. It may be readily conceived that such a man as Bailleul, to seize on an employment, will cringe before any one who has the power to bestow it, whether a prince or a director. But what had I, who was one of the directors, to gain by a counter-revolution? What had I to expect of kings, popes, and emperors? Could they raise me into a situation of more distinguished pre-eminence than that which I possessed; in which I treated them as my equals, and sometimes even with that superiority in which I was clothed by the victories of the Republic?

I cannot name a situation, on the globe we inhabit, which can be compared with that of a Constitutional Member of the Executive Directory ; nor more brilliant functions to fulfil, than those whose object it is to preserve the people from the grasp of absolute power. It is the prominent feature of his duties. And of what materials must that man be composed, the measure of whose desires and ambition would not be filled by receiving such a high and important charge from the confidential preference of so great a nation as our own? At the same time it may be asked, what is the magnitude of that man's guilt, who receives this trust from a free people in order to become a despot? Nevertheless, the triumvirs, instead of preserving the people from absolute power, have clothed themselves with it. They have discovered that the office of dictator is superior to that of director, and they aspire to be dictators. Indeed their prevailing object is to persuade the people that they may live happy in a state of subjection. After the government of such men as these, the nation would receive an Henry IV. as

the first of blessings. It would be no worse change for them than the absolute government of one instead of five. The people would reason no farther on the subject; they no longer know the nature of liberty and the rights of man, nor feel a hatred for tyrants: nay, they begin to think that tyrants may be respectable! As for me, I would rather be an exile than a director. An oppressor of the people is a character replete with infamy; and I boast of the honourable allotment, of having become a victim of my fidelity to them.

The tiger of anarchy has long displayed his hungry jaws; and what must have been his delight, when he beheld the Directory throw to him two of its members to appease his savage appetite—when HE became his prey who had so long deprived him of his meal—who alone, of the Directory, loved liberty from principle, and for its own sake, and who had served it with effect!—for it is such men, above all others, that such monsters seek to devour; for it is the pure patriot alone that can satisfy his

palate ; and it is for such food that he will lick, for an instant, the hands of his purveyors. The gang of royalists expressed neither less surprize or satisfaction, when they perceived the opinion of Vergniaud fulfilled, that the Revolution, like Saturn, devoured its own children. All the monarchs of Europe should have offered their most grateful acknowledgements to their brethren of France, for having delivered them, at length, from an intractable enemy, which, from the moment of their coalition, had caused them so much alarm and disquietude. The choice of such a victim, fulfilled at once the wishes of those who were the protectors of Louis XVIII. as well as the Orleans party. It is, however, greatly to be lamented that the good intentions of the republican directors, respecting it, have failed of success.

What a scene of caprice and extravagance !— The triumvirs have passed the last two years in a state of indifference and indolence ; they have abandoned the legislative body to the fury of

every faction; they have continually insulted it, and as often treated its members with personal degradation; they have even proceeded to tread it under their feet; and, nevertheless, these very men are held forth by it, as the preservers of liberty. During these two years, I, on the contrary, have been employed as a vigilant sentinel of the national representation; and have formed a rampart against the freebooters who wished to be its assassins; I have dispersed the storms that menaced it; the wish of my heart has been, that it should be the object of universal honour; that, even in its extravagancies, it should remain inviolate, and that its members should be treated with respect; and yet I am proscribed; nor was one voice heard from the midst of it, to oppose such an act of extreme injustice! the fruits of my devotion to it have been exile, defamation, and misery! Yes, legislators, triumvirs, and generals, who have betrayed your duties; ministers, who have served the cause of iniquity; yes, I prefer my allotment to yours; the state of banishment in which I live is dear to me; and I only wish that I had merited it, by a still more ar-

dent zeal for the glory and prosperity of my country.

But am I not guilty of injustice in declaring, that not one voice was heard in my behalf?—Yes; OUDOT, had the courage, in the Council of Five Hundred, to support my cause; while LACUÉE, in the Council of Elders, gave his testimony for me; and in such an oppressed state as mine, these were acts of no common generosity: and much do I wish, that I could offer to men, who are worthy to be the representatives of a free people, such expressions of gratitude as their courage demands from me. The suffrages of two men who, amidst so much contamination, still maintain their purity, satisfies every wish of my heart; and will continue to awaken those sentiments, which they who ordered my procription can never inspire: may this noble act of justice, never be the occasion of causing those who performed it to become partakers of my persecution!*

* Many others, who deserve a place among the most ardent patriots, have expressed to me their deep concern on the

I thought it my duty to answer the Report of the Committee, as it was an authentic document; and I should consider it as deserving of reproach, if I had suffered any gall to mix in my reply. No one condemns more sincerely than myself, the practice of answering injury by injury; and I should not readily forgive myself for any which I might have unnecessarily uttered against my assassins. But I must entreat the reader to consider, that the nature of an accusation must always determine the manner in which it must be answered. If the only object had been to expose errors; if proofs had been produced to that effect, and I had been called upon to do nothing more than prove their insignificance, a calm, controversial discussion would have been sufficient; and I should, most assuredly, have preferred it. But the Directory announces positive facts, and gives no other proof of their truth, but the moral

occasion; but, they perceived, that it was impossible to resist a faction, whose measures had been formed on a system of villany, of which the history of the world does not offer an example.

virtue of the accusers. It became, then, a duty I owed to myself, to prove the frail nature of their testimony; to make it appear, that they have not acted from error or misconception, but from the worst principles; that my accusers have not been deceived, but are themselves the deceivers. I must, at length, unmask these impostors and universal plunderers. I do not, indeed, possess the art of telling any one, in polished terms, that he is a liar, a traitor, and a cut-throat. If I had applied these titles to the triumvirs without proof, and when such a mode of addressing them was not connected with unfolding their execrable system, I could not have justified myself. But the contempt which I feel for them, assures me, that I have not indulged myself in any emotions of passion which might turn me aside from rigid truth. They would not occupy my thoughts for a moment, if they were not blended with the means I must employ for my justification. How many of their base and vile accomplices could I expose; and I have never named them! Not, indeed, from any tenderness to them, but because, I would not degrade my

pen in writing their names; and, because, their miserable history could not have supported those testimonies which I have presented to the attention of the public. There surely cannot be one independent character existing who, when he reflects on these villains, does not feel himself moved by that awful indignation, which never fails to arise, when triumphant villainy basely insults the victim that it has sacrificed.

It was my ultimate object to make the Republic beloved, by erecting it on the basis of true genuine Liberty, and not according to any of those ridiculous definitions by which it has been misrepresented and misunderstood. It was my ardent wish to preserve, to the national representation of a great people, the supreme rank which the nature of things requires, and the constitution has marked out for it. It has been my desire, that every citizen should be governed in his conduct by institutions which were become habitually practical, rather than by the threats of the law. In short, it has ever been

my opinion, that prejudice should be suffered to disperse insensibly before the light of reason, rather than be extirpated by the violence of power. I have certainly committed many errors in pursuing a career to which I had not been originally destined; but I never deserted the principles which formed a compass to guide me through the revolutionary tempests. If I availed myself of an universal enthusiasm to push on the war with an unexampled vigour, it was rather to put an end to the critical state in which that enthusiasm had placed the nation. I had conceived the design of writing the history of this hallowed war, which has fixed the basis of the great Republic on its own immortal trophies; and to consign, in its annals, the innumerable acts of its heroes, for the glory and instruction of their posterity.— With this view I established the office, called the *Typographical and Historical Cabinet*, where I had caused a very large quantity of materials to be collected; and which others may be better qualified to unfold to the world than myself.

I did not employ the power which was delegated to me in amassing riches, or in raising my relations to lucrative employments :—I have clean hands and a pure heart.

I shall never cease to direct my thoughts towards my country. No one can despoil me of the character of a citizen, which the constitution has given me, and which I have merited by the affection I bear it, and my zeal to its service. I am not conscious of having committed one arbitrary or tyrannic act : I demand a regular and constitutional trial, and I do not fear either the severity of my judges or the appointment of the jury ; whatever they may be, I am certain of being as good a republican as the most zealous of them. The only crime with which I shall be charged, is the vain but patriot attempt to save the French people from the dominion of tyrants. It was not, however, possible for me to succeed in this design, because I employed only such means as were authorized by the constitution which was confided to me, and I was

opposed by monsters, to whom nothing that thwarted their views was inviolable or sacred.

O France ! O my country ! O great and renowned people ! it was in thy bosom that I had the happiness to be born ; and I cannot cease to belong to thee, till I exist no more. You contain all the objects of my affection ; the work which my hands contributed to establish ; the virtuous old man that gave me life ; a family without stain ; friends who know the bottom of my heart, and can affirm, that it never conceived a thought but for the happiness of my countrymen, or formed a wish but for their immortal glory and continual prosperity. Receive, O my country ! this vow, which is renewed every succeeding day of my life, which I, at this moment, address to all those great and virtuous characters which you possess ; to all those who cherish in their hearts the sacred spark of liberty. I conclude by the Spartan prayer, "ENABLE US, YE GODS, TO BEAR INJUSTICE !"

THE END.

